

Aspects of Chintang Syntax

Thesis
presented to the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
of the University of Zurich
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by Netra Prasad Paudyal

Accepted in the fall semester 2013
on the recommendation of the doctoral committee:
Prof. Dr. Balthasar Bickel (main advisor)
Prof. Dr. John M. Peterson

Zurich 2015

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	vii
Notational conventions and abbreviations	ix
List of figures	xii
List of tables	xiii
1 Introduction	1
1.0 The linguistic situation in Nepal	1
1.1 The Chintang people and their language	3
1.2 The Chintang village profile	6
1.3 The ethnic and religious situation	7
1.4 Genetic affiliation	8
1.5 Sources of data and the fieldwork	9
1.6 Goals and overview of the dissertation	10
2 Phonology	13
2.0 Introduction	13
2.1 Consonants	13
2.1.1 Stop consonants	16
2.1.2 Fricatives	17
2.1.3 Nasals	17
2.1.4 Glides	17
2.1.5 Aspiration	18
2.1.6 Distribution of consonant phonemes	18
2.1.7 Consonant clusters and geminate consonants	20
2.2 Vowel phonemes	23
2.2.1 Monophthongs	23
2.2.2 Diphthongs	24
2.2.3 Vowel sequences	27
2.3 Syllable structure	28
2.4 Basic morphophonemic rules	29
2.4.1 Voicing	29
2.4.2 Velar nasal drop	30
2.4.3 Vowel deletion	31

2.4.4	Consonant deletion	32
2.4.5	Assimilation of velar nasal to labial	32
2.5	Suprasegmental features	32
2.6	Summary	33
3	Nominal Morphology	34
3.0	Introduction	34
3.1	Nominal categories	34
3.1.1	Number	35
3.1.2	<i>-pa/-ma</i> sex markers	37
3.1.3	Case	40
3.1.3.1	Nominative	42
3.1.3.2	Ergative	43
3.1.3.3	Instrumental	44
3.1.3.4	Genitive	44
3.1.3.5	Comitative	45
3.1.3.6	Mediative	46
3.1.3.7	Terminative	47
3.1.3.8	Directive	48
3.1.3.9	Ablative	48
3.1.3.10	Locative	50
3.1.3.11	Borrowed cases	53
3.2	Pronouns	53
3.2.1	Personal pronouns	53
3.2.1.1	First person pronouns	54
3.2.1.2	Second person pronouns	55
3.2.1.3	Third person pronouns	56
3.2.2	Interrogative pronouns	56
3.3	Possessive agreement	61
3.3.1	Obligatorily possessive inflection	62
3.4	Derivation and compounding	63
3.4.1	Modifier-head compounding	63
3.4.2	Fossilized compounds	64
3.4.3	Tri-nominal compounds	65
3.4.4	Metaphorical compounds	66
3.4.5	Nouns derived from verbs	66
3.4.6	Nouns with <i>-si</i> , <i>-wa</i> <i>-mi</i> , <i>-bi/-bu</i>	67
3.5	Classifiers	69
3.5.1	Human classifier <i>-paŋ</i> , <i>-baŋ</i> , <i>-bhaŋ</i>	69
3.5.2	Default classifier <i>-ta</i>	71
3.6	Adjectives	72
3.6.1	Descriptive adjectives	73
3.6.2	Quantity adjectives	74
3.6.3	Borrowed adjectives	74
3.7	Diminutive	75
3.8	Summary	76

4	Verb Morphology	78
4.0	Introduction	78
4.1	Verb stems	78
4.2	Intransitive paradigm	84
4.3	Transitive paradigm	86
4.4	Reflexive	89
4.5	Verbal affixes	90
4.6	Mood, aspect, and tense	92
4.6.1	Mood	92
4.6.1.1	Indicative	92
4.6.1.2	Subjunctive	94
4.6.1.3	Imperative <i>-a</i>	94
4.6.1.4	Optative <i>=ne</i>	96
4.6.2	Aspect	97
4.6.2.1	Perfect <i>-ŋs</i>	97
4.6.2.2	Imperfective past <i>-(y)akt</i>	99
4.6.2.3	Imperfective nonpast <i>=ta</i>	101
4.6.3	Tense	102
4.6.3.1	Nonpast tense	102
4.6.3.2	Past tense	103
4.7	Negation marking on verbs	104
4.7.1	Nonpast negation	104
4.7.2	Past negation	105
4.8	Nonfinite verb forms	106
4.8.1	Infinitive <i>-ma</i>	107
4.8.2	Converb <i>-saŋa</i>	108
4.8.3	Purposive <i>-si</i>	109
4.8.4	Negation converb <i>mai- -ma</i>	110
4.8.5	Active participle <i>ka- (-pa)</i>	110
4.8.6	Reciprocal participle <i>-ka</i>	111
4.8.7	Passive participle <i>-mayəŋ/-mayiŋ</i>	112
4.9	Summary	113
5	Complex Predicates	115
5.0	Introduction	115
5.1	Complex predicates	116
5.1.1	Compound verbs	116
5.1.1.1	<i>bima, -bid</i> ‘Benefactive ₁ ’	122
5.1.1.2	<i>dheiŋma, -dhatt</i> ‘Benefactive ₂ ’	122
5.1.1.3	<i>haiŋma, -hatt</i> ‘Completive ₁ ’	123
5.1.1.4	<i>dheima, -dhend</i> ‘Completive ₂ ’	124
5.1.1.5	<i>cama, -ci</i> ‘Completive ₃ ’	125
5.1.1.6	<i>goima, -gond</i> ‘Ambulative’	126
5.1.1.7	<i>lama, -li</i> ‘Return’	127
5.1.1.8	<i>loima, -lois</i> , ‘Take out’, Bring out’, <i>-lond</i> ‘Come out’	128
5.1.1.9	<i>yunma, -yuy</i> ‘Durative’	129
5.1.1.10	<i>khaŋma, -khaŋ</i> ‘Conative’	130

5.1.1.11 <i>meiʔma</i> , -mett, ‘Cause’	131
5.1.1.12 <i>sima/seiʔma</i> , -si/-set ‘Die’, ‘Kill’	132
5.1.2 Verb with a preverb	134
5.1.3 Borrowed verbal compounds	138
5.2 Summary	139
6 Adverbs	141
6.0 Introduction	141
6.1 Time adverbs	142
6.2 Manner adverbs	144
6.3 Place adverbs	145
6.4 Adverbs through duplication	146
6.5 Summary	147
7 Noun Phrase Structure	148
7.0 Introduction	148
7.1 The Structure of noun phrases	148
7.2 Heads of noun phrases	150
7.3 The modification of noun phrases	152
7.3.1 Adjective	152
7.3.2 Possessive	153
7.3.3 Numeral and classifiers	156
7.3.4 Quantifier	157
7.3.5 Attributive clause	158
7.4 Noun phrase coordination	160
7.4.1 Comitative	160
7.4.2 Juxtaposition	161
7.4.3 Coordination with <i>elo</i>	161
7.5 Modifier-noun agreement	162
7.6 Summary	162
8 Basic Clause Structure	163
8.0 Introduction	163
8.1 Word order	163
8.2 Interrogative clauses	165
8.2.1 Content questions	165
8.2.2 Polar questions	168
8.2.3 Alternative type questions	169
8.3 Coordination	171
8.4 Experiencer constructions	171
8.5 Summary	174
9 Nominalization	175
9.0 Introduction	175
9.1 Functions of nominalization in Chintang	176
9.1.1 Relativization	177

9.1.1.1	Finite relativization with = <i>go</i>	178
9.1.1.2	Relativization with = <i>kha</i>	182
9.1.1.3	Active participle <i>ka-</i>	183
9.1.1.4	Nominalized infinitival relative clauses	188
9.1.1.5	Interim summary	189
9.1.2	Clause nominalization	190
9.1.3	Sentence nominalization	191
9.2	Summary	196
10	Complementation	198
10.0	Introduction	198
10.1	Embedded infinitives	200
10.1.1	Phasal predicates	201
10.1.2	Desiderative predicates	206
10.1.3	Propositional attitude	210
10.1.4	Modal predicate	212
10.1.5	Other predicates	215
10.2	Nominalized complement clauses	217
10.3	<i>Samma</i> complement clauses	221
10.4	Summary	222
11	Adverbial Clauses	223
11.0	Introduction	223
11.1	Nonfinite clause	224
11.1.1	Simultaneous converb - <i>saŋa</i>	224
11.1.2	The purposive converb - <i>si</i>	232
11.1.3	The negation converb <i>mai-</i> - <i>ma</i>	237
11.2	Finite subordination	238
11.2.1	The adverbial clause - <i>lok/lo</i>	239
11.2.2	Concessive clause - <i>nusayan</i>	241
11.2.3	Causal clause - <i>ŋa</i>	243
11.2.4	Temporal clauses	244
11.2.4.1	The conjunctions <i>garda</i> , <i>jaba</i> , and <i>bela</i>	244
11.2.4.2	The conjunction <i>bhane</i>	245
11.2.4.3	The conjunction <i>pacche</i>	246
11.2.4.4	Scope of imperatives in temporal clauses	247
11.3	Variable subordination	248
11.3.1	The conditional clause - <i>haŋ</i>	248
11.3.2	The conditional clause <i>para/panta</i>	251
11.3.3	Sequential clauses = <i>ki</i> , = <i>kina</i> , = <i>kinana</i>	253
11.4	Summary	256
12	Particles and Discourse Markers	258
12.0	Introduction	258
12.1	Enclitics and endoclitics	259
12.1.1	The additive particle = <i>yaŋ</i>	259

12.1.2 The restrictive particle <i>=le</i>	261
12.1.3 The topic marker <i>=na/na</i>	262
12.1.4 The specific topic marker <i>=te</i>	266
12.1.5 The focus particle <i>=ta</i>	268
12.1.6 The surprise particle <i>=lo</i>	269
12.2 Independent particles	270
12.2.1 The emphatic particle <i>ni</i>	270
12.2.2 The insistent particle <i>na</i>	272
12.2.3 The contrast particle <i>naŋ/nahaŋ</i>	273
12.2.4 The agreement seeker particle <i>o</i>	275
12.2.5 The attentive particle <i>gonei?</i>	275
12.2.6 The direct speech marker <i>mo</i>	276
12.2.7 Reportative marker <i>pho</i>	277
12.3 Borrowed particles	279
12.3.1 The specific topic <i>caĩ/cahĩ</i>	280
12.3.2 The probability <i>hola</i>	280
12.3.3 The mirative particle <i>raicha</i>	281
12.3.4 The initiator <i>lo</i>	282
12.3.5 Attentive particle <i>hei</i>	282
12.4 Particle cluster ordering	284
12.5 Summary	285
13 Concluding Remarks	287
13.0 Introduction	287
13.1 Summary of the thesis	287
Appendix	291
Verb paradigms	291
Bibliography	295–305

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank the Chintang speaking people, Chintang Bhāsā tathā sāhitya Parīśad and [Kirāt Rāi Yayokkhā](#). It would have been impossible to conduct research without their generous support. My special thanks goes to many Chintang consultants, in particular, Lokendra Tele Rāi, Surya Wālung Rāi, Rikhi Māya Rāi, Janak Kumāri Rāi, Dik Dal Rāi and Rabi Kumār Rāi. Additionally, I thank Nagendra Rāi for answering my syntactic questions via Skype from Israel.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Prof. Balthasar Bickel, my supervisor, who guided and supported me in many ways. His input since the beginning of the Chintang research has directed me towards a successful investigation and analysis of Chintang. I truly appreciate the patience he had in reading numerous versions of this thesis, and helping me come up with something better each time. Without his support, guidance and patience, this thesis would not have been possible.

I was delighted to interact with Prof. John Peterson by attending his seminars and having him as my co-supervisor. During my presentations, he gave me wonderful insight into the subject, which directed me in the right direction.

I am truly indebted to my colleagues Robert Schikowski and Diana Schackow for their comments and suggestions. They constantly provided insightful criticisms in every part of this thesis. I am also very grateful to Lennart Bierkandt, Dr. Alena Witzlack-Makarevich and Birgit Jänen for reading the entire draft and helping me with many issues of the dissertation. Lennart also deserves a special thanks for proofreading the entire copy. I owe sincere and earnest thankfulness to Dr. Emily M. Bender for giving me very useful comments on some of the chapters of this dissertation. Moreover, I would like to show my gratitude to Prof. Edith Moravcsik for going through the draft of this thesis and suggesting modifications. I would also

like to thank Tyko Dirksmeyer for the discussion and criticisms on one of the chapters (Nominalization) of this thesis.

Much of my training and practical experience in language research has been obtained through [the Chintang and Puma Documentation Project](#) (CPDP 2004–2007), and I have very much enjoyed and valued the friendship, advice, support and encouragement that I received from my colleagues in CPDP both in Leipzig and Nepal. I am very grateful to Prof. Martin Gaenszle who not only guided and supported me during the CPDP project, but always was a source of inspiration. My thanks goes to Prof. Novel K. Rai, coordinator of the Chintang research team in Nepal, for his regular inspiration in the field of linguistics and language documentation. My sincere gratitude also goes to Dr. Sabine Stoll for her encouragement during the Chintang language research project. I also thank my colleagues Gomā Banjāde, Ichchha P. Rāi, Manoj Rāi and Toya N. Bhatta for their kind help during the audio-visual recording, transcription, translation and glossing of the Chintang sessions and lexicons.

It is [Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst](#) (DAAD) that supported me financially (A/06/91690) to stay and research in Germany. I realize that without this support, both my Germany visit and the dissertation writing would have been impossible. I am very grateful to the DAAD for making this research possible.

In addition, I want to thank my former professors and mentors — Prof. Yogendra P. Yādava, Prof. Mādhav P. Pokharel, Dr. Balrām Prasāin, Bhim Lāl Gautam and Rām Rāj Lohani in [the Central Dept. of Linguistics](#) (CDL) and Prof. Nirmal M. Tulādhār [Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies](#) (CNAS), [Tribhuvan University](#) (TU), Kathmandu, for motivating me towards linguistics. Moreover, I thank Dr. Dān Rāj Regmi, present head of the Dept. of Linguistics in TU, for his noble support. I am also grateful to Sueyoshi Toba, [SIL International](#) (SIL Nepal), for teaching field linguistics and also introducing us with the fresh linguistic data from his fieldwork during our studies in TU, Kathmandu.

Last but definitely not least, I am grateful to Jenny Seeg for all the practical supports in Leipzig and Ram Kumar Mahato & Laxmi Shrestha-Mahato for their kind hospitality in Zürich. I also thank Sheila Bull for proofreading some of my papers and proposals. I am profoundly grateful to my wife Ganga Adhikari-Paudyal for her very generous help. The support I received from her is invaluable.

No need to say that all misconceptions and errors are to be blamed to me.
Zürich, 2015.

Notational conventions & Abbreviations

In this work a morpheme boundary is indicated by a hyphen (-). The corresponding English semantic units are also separated by hyphens, but when these units consist of more than one word, these words are separated by dots. In some cases the shape of the affix is simply retained in interlinear glosses, for example NA. The following symbols are used in the text:

()	optional element
-	morpheme boundary
Σ	stem
*	indicates ungrammatical constructions
<	derived from
→	rewrite rule
∅	zero marker
[]	phonetic material
[.]	syllable boundary
/ /	phonemic material
/ _	the environment of
=	clitic boundary
?	question

Abbreviations

Glossing follows the Leipzig glossing rules (<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>) with some additions. The following abbreviations are used in interlinear glosses:

1	first person	A	agent like argument of a canonical transitive verb
2	second person		
3	third person	ABL	ablative (- <i>ŋa</i> , - <i>ma</i>)

ACC	accusative	DOWN	down
ACT.PTCP	active participle (<i>ka-</i> (<i>pa</i>))	DUR	durative
ADD	additive focus (= <i>yaŋ</i>)	e	exclusive
ADJ	adjective	EMPH	emphatic
ADJLZ	adjectivalizer	EMPH.IMP	emphatic imperative
ADV	adverb(ial)	ERG	ergative (<i>-ŋa</i> , <i>-yā</i>)
ADVLZ ₁	adverb(ial)izer (<i>-wa</i>)	EXCLA	exclamatory
ADVLZ ₂	adverb(ial)izer (<i>-lari</i>)	EXIST	existential
AFF	affirmative (<i>hou</i> /= <i>u</i>)	F	feminine
AGR	agreement	FILLER	filler
ALOC	areal locative	FLOC	focus locative (<i>-i</i> (?))
ALL	allative	FOC ₁	focus (= <i>ta</i>)
AMB	ambulative	FOC ₂	focus (<i>ni</i>)
ANTIP	antipassive	G	goal
ATTN ₁	attentive (<i>gonei?</i> / <i>gonei</i>)	GEN	genitive (<i>-ko</i>)
ATTN ₂	attentive (<i>la</i>)	HORT	hortative
ATTN ₃	attentive (<i>hei</i> , = <i>ei</i>)	HUM.CLF	human classifier (<i>-baŋ/bhaŋ</i>)
AUX	auxiliary	i	inclusive
BEN ₁	benefactive I (<i>-bid</i>)	IDEOPH	ideophone
BEN ₂	benefactive II (<i>-dhett</i>)	IMP	imperative
BUT	counter-thought (<i>naŋ</i>)	IND	indicative
CAUS	causative (<i>-mett</i>)	INF	infinitive
CIT	citation (<i>mo</i>)	INSTR	instrumental (<i>-ŋa</i> , <i>-yā</i>)
CLF	classifier	INSIST	insistive (<i>na</i>)
CNSV	concessive (<i>nuseyaŋ</i>)	INTERJ	interjection
COM	comitative (<i>-niŋ</i>)	INTR	intransitive
COMP	complementizer	IPFV ₁	imperfective (<i>-yakt</i>)
COMPL ₁	completive I (<i>-hatt</i>)	IPFV ₂	imperfective (= <i>ta</i>)
COMPL ₂	completive II (<i>-ci</i>)	IRR	irrealis (<i>phe</i>)
COMPL ₃	completive II (<i>-dhend</i>)	LDA	long-distance agreement
CON	conative	LOC	locative
COND ₁	conditional (<i>haŋ</i>)	M	masculine
COND ₂	conditional (<i>para/panta</i>)	MANR	manner (<i>-likhi</i> , <i>-khi?</i>)
CONJ	conjunctive	MED	mediative (<i>-lam</i>)
CONN	connective	MIR	mirative (<i>raicha</i>)
CONT	continuative	ns	nonsingular
COP	copula	N	neuter
CVB	converb	NA	epenthetic (<i>na</i>)
d	dual (<i>-ce</i>)	NEG	negative
DAT	dative	NMLZ ₁	nominalizer (= <i>go/ko</i>)
DEM	demonstrative	NMLZ ₂	nominalizer (= <i>kha</i>)
DIM	diminutive (<i>-cilek</i> , <i>-cha</i>)	NOM	nominative
DIR ₁	directive (<i>-patti</i>)	NP	noun phrase
DIR ₂	directive (<i>-ni</i>)		
DIST	distal		

NPST	nonpast	REL	relative
NUM	number	REP	reportative
OBJ	object	REST	resultative
OBL	obligative	RESTR	restrictive (=le)
OBLG	obligatory	s	singular
OPT	optative (-ne)	SBJ	subject
OUT ₁	out (-loĩs)	SEQ	sequential (=ki/kina/kinana)
OUT ₂	out (-lott)	SPEC.TOP	specific topicalizer (caĩ, cahĩ)
OUT ₃	out (-lond)	SIM	simultaneous
p	plural	SUBJ	subjunctive
P	patient-like argument of a canonical transitive verb	SURP	surprise (=lo, lo)
PASS.PTCP	passive participle	T	theme
POSS	possessive	TEL	telic
PRO	pronoun	TERM	terminative (samma, somma)
PRSV	persuasive	TMP	temporal (-kheĩ, -khe?)
PERF	perfect (-ĩs)	TOP	topic (=na)
PROX	proximate	TYP	type
PRV	preverb	TR	transitive
PST	past	UP	up side
PTCL	particle	VOC	vocative
PTCP	participle	V.NTVZ	verb nativizer (-e)
PURP	purposive (-si)	v2	second verb in 'compound form'
PVB	preverb		
Q	question		
QUANT	quantifier		
RECONF	reconfirmative (o)		
RECP	reciprocal		
REDUP	reduplication		
REFL	reflexive (-ncĩ, -ce, -na)		

List of figures

1.1:	Map of Nepal with the Chintang speaking area highlighted	4
1.2:	Map of Dhanakuta district with Chintang and Ahale VDCs	5
1.3:	The Chintang language within the Kiranti subgroup	9

List of tables

2.1:	Chintang consonants	14
2.2:	Distribution of consonants	19
2.3:	Possible consonant clusters in Chintang	21
2.4:	The vowel inventory of Chintang	24
2.5:	Syllable structure in Chintang	29
3.1:	Dual and plural marking	36
3.2:	Case markers and their functions	42
3.3:	Personal pronouns and possessive prefixes in Chintang	54
3.4:	Interrogative pronouns	57
3.5:	Chintang numerals	72
3.6:	Properties of numeral classifiers in Chintang	72
4.1:	Final sounds of verb stems combined with suffix-initial sounds	84
4.2:	Template of an intransitive verb	85
4.3:	Intransitive inflection, <i>thap</i> - ‘come’	86
4.4:	Template of a transitive verb in Nonpast	87
4.5:	Template of a transitive verb in Past	88
4.6:	Verbal affixes	91
4.7:	Tense/mood markers in Chintang	92
4.8:	Aspect markers	97
4.9:	Non-finite marking affixes in Chintang	107
5.1:	Causative derivation with intransitive verbs	131
5.2:	Causative derivation with transitive verbs	132
5.3:	List of most common v2 verbs and their basic meanings	134
5.4:	Most common pre-verbal compound verbs	137
7.1:	Maximal structure of NPs in Chintang	149
9.1:	Functions of various types of nominalizers	190
10.1:	Infinitival complement taking verbs in Chintang	201
10.2:	Properties of infinitival complement clauses	217
11.1:	Properties of adverbial subordination in Chintang	256
12.1:	Possible combination of Chintang particles	285

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0 The linguistic situation in Nepal

Nepal is one of the most linguistically diverse countries in the world. According to the census reports of Central Bureau of Statistics 2011, 123 languages are spoken as mother tongue in Nepal. But more realistic estimates go well beyond this figure. A complete linguistic survey has not yet been done in Nepal but the Ethnologue cites 126 distinct languages for Nepal, 124 of which are listed as living (Lewis et al. 2009). These languages fall into four genealogical lineages (families): Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic, and Dravidian. The National Language Recommendation Commission (NLRC 1994) classifies the languages of Nepal into four different levels of public status and prominence, namely, (i) languages with a literary tradition, (ii) languages with literary traditions in progress, (iii) languages with no literary tradition and (iv) languages at the verge of extinction or moribund. The census result of 2011 shows that Nepali¹ is spoken as a mother tongue by 44.6% of the total population. All other languages are spoken by less than 55.4% of the total population. This is a multilingual country, most of the indigenous groups have a language other than Nepali as their mother tongue, but almost all of them also speak Nepali as a second language. Therefore, during the census of 2011, organizations of different national language groups organized sensitization programs in different parts of the country to report their mother tongues accurately while giving

¹ Nepali is also known locally under various names, such as *Khas kurā* (the language of Khas), *gorkhālī* (the language of Gorkha), *parbatīyā* (the language of hills) and *panirīj* (the language of other people).

information to the census enumerators. The rising level of awareness among the minorities has caused some increase in the percentage of different ethnic, linguistic and religious groups and a subsequent decrease in the number of Nepali language speakers in the census.²

The majority of languages spoken in Nepal are “tribal” languages belonging to Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. The eastern foothills of the country are the home of numerous languages, most of them classified as Kiranti (*Nep. Kirāti or Kirāti*) within the Sino-Tibetan family. Kiranti languages are mostly spoken in the eastern part of Nepal, although there are some speakers in Northern India as well. The Kiranti subgroup comprises around 30 languages (Ebert 1994). Some counts are higher: Hanßon (1991) and Grimes (1996) put the estimate closer to 40. The term “Rai” is occasionally used interchangeably (Hanßon 1991) but this grouping is actually a political administrative one. As it excludes Limbu and Yakkha, two important Kiranti languages, some groups consider it ethnically questionable and reject it as linguistically inadequate (Bickel and Gaenszle 1999).

Kiranti languages stand out most of all by their polysynthetic morphology (known as “complex pronominalization” in traditional Sino-Tibetan studies), which is not only highly unusual for Sino-Tibetan but for the broader Eurasian context as well (Bickel 2002). The languages of the western hills of Nepal have already been influenced by earlier forms of Nepali (*khās kurā*). However, the eastern hills have preserved their great variety until now. Especially in Eastern Nepal the indigenous peoples remained relatively little influenced by traditions of Hinduism and Buddhism and until today practice various forms of ancestral religions. These are characterized by different kinds of ritual specialists who perform complex rituals based on orally transmitted texts. These oral traditions, known as *mundhum*, form the basis of ethnic identities and are still a large storehouse of ancient and inherited practices as well as a vast repository of cultural knowledge.

The Kiranti area is arguably the steepest inhabited terrain in the world, rising from the Gangetic plain, dozens of feet above sea level, to Mt. Everest, almost 30,000 feet high. This slope is folded into deep mountain valleys (usually running approximately North-South) on the slopes of which the Kiranti villages are mostly arrayed. With the exception of Limbu, (with about 250,000 speakers) the Kiranti languages are not widely spoken, nor well

² cf. with the census results of 2001 which lists that Nepali was spoken as mother tongue by 48.61% of the total population.

documented. Serious investigations started only in the last two decades and resulted in the publication of nearly a dozen grammars.

In general, Kiranti speakers are bi-lingual: they speak their mother tongue and Nepali (the Indo-Aryan *lingua franca* of Nepal), and in some areas, they even speak Nepali preferentially. Because relatively small distances are involved, and because marriage between sub-castes is practiced (in the nominally obsolete Nepali caste system, Limbu, Sunwar, and Rai are separate castes; Rai is further divided into a number of sub-castes which often roughly correspond to language), speakers of one language often have considerable knowledge of other Kiranti languages, and one would expect borrowing to be the norm. Kiranti languages are often spoken only at home and mostly in the countryside. In the cosmopolitan environment of cities, using Nepali is more practical. Nepali as the national, official language is being used extensively in administration, education, and media, and therefore speakers of other languages have no choice but to use their language less frequently and Nepali more frequently. As opportunities for using their own languages decrease, the younger generation tends to use more Nepali, thus losing their language loyalty. Nepali has been a “killer” language (in Skutnabb-Kangas' words) to most of the minority languages in the country.

Kiranti languages generally have very intricate and non-transparent morphological systems including complex agreement patterns (with both agents and patients in the case of transitive verbs). There is obligatory inflection of tense, aspect, mood, and polarity. Other points of considerable typological interest include nominalization and complementation displaying syntactic ergativity, or clause chaining constructions with variable tense marker scope.

1.1 The Chintang people and their language

Chintang (ISO636.3: ctn) is spoken by the Chintang Rai people in Chintang VDC (Village Development Committee)³ of Dhanakutā district, close to the Saptakośī river confluence on the southern foothills of the Himalayas. Recently, the name became an ethnic category when

³ A village development committee (VDC, Nepali गाउँ विकास समिति; Gāū Bikās Samiti) is the smallest administrative unit in Nepal. Each district has several VDCs, similar to municipalities but with greater public-government interaction and administration. Currently, there are 3,915 village development committees in Nepal. A VDC is further divided into wards (Nepali: वडा), average is nine wards in a single VDC.

it turned out that the original inhabitants of Chintang have a separate Kiranti language. Apart from Chintang, a small number of speakers of Chintang are also found at Triveni in Āhāle VDC, which is in 3 hours trekking distance from Chintang in south. No reliable scientific census report is available to show the exact number of Chintang speakers at present. However, we have estimated not less than 5,000 people who speak this language as their mother tongue. The main Chintang-speaking villages are Mulgāũ (from Nepali *mul* 'main' and *gāũ* 'village') and Sambugāũ.



Figure 1.1: Map of Nepal with the Chintang speaking area

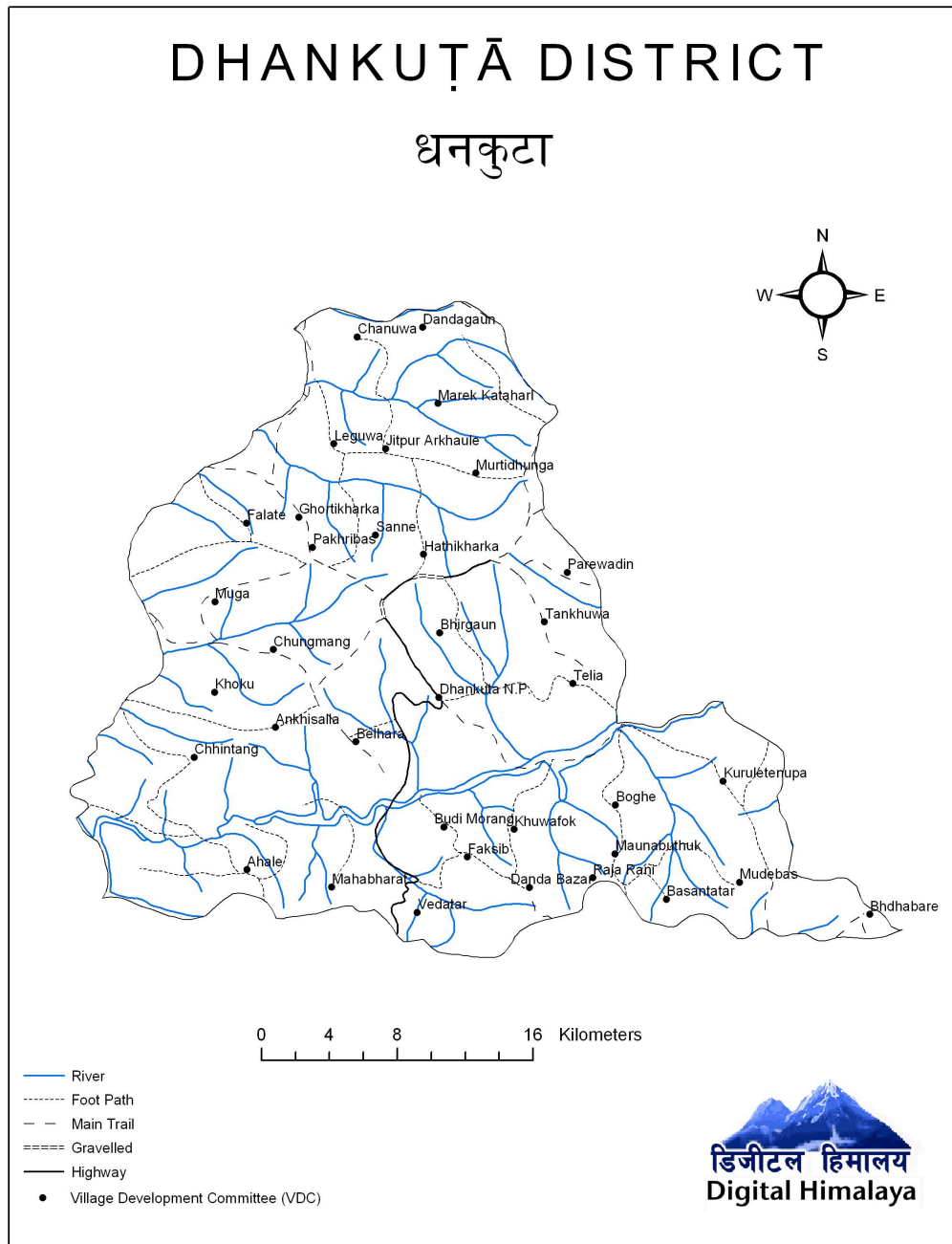


Figure 1.2: Map of Dhanakuṭā district with Chhintang and Āhāle VDCs in the southwest
 (Source Digital Himalaya)

In our survey in these two villages and in Triveni (Āhāle VDC), we found that most, if not all, speakers are bilingual with Nepali, the Indo-Aryan *lingua franca* of Nepal. Some speakers are trilingual with Bantawa, one of the most widely spoken Kiranti languages of the region. Monolingualism of Chintang is now restricted to a handful of elderly persons, especially women. But most children still acquire Chintang as their first language, especially in Gaurong Tole and some other areas of Mulgāũ. The social situation contributes to the fact that Chintang is increasingly being supplanted by Nepali and Bantawa. The most important factors of language shift are migration, education and mixed marriages between Chintang and speakers of other languages.

1.2 The Chintang village profile

Chintang VDC is a relatively large village cluster, consisting of numerous hamlets. In terms of population it is the second largest VDC in Dhanakutā District. It stretches over the whole ridge west of Ankhisallā to the Arun river, bounded by the Tamur river in the south and the small dhāde Kholā (which leads into the Khānān Kholā) in the north. If one comes from Hile, traveling on the jeepable road along the 25 km ridge, one has to cross a small forest after Ankhisalla and arrives in Dāndāgāũ (ward no. 1), situated, as the name indicates, right on the ridge. This ridge eventually narrows into a thin line just the size of the road, with steep cliffs descending on each side: this is the site of Pancakanyā, named after the shrine for this goddess (which plays a crucial role in the annual Wādhāngmi festival, a dance ritual which is celebrated for six days in a year). It is a shady place under old pipal trees where the weekly market on Wednesday (Budhabāre Hāt) takes place. But the most visible landmark of this unique place, which forms a kind of “gateway” into the major village, is the impressive Śāhid Pār̥k: Here the martyrs of the Chatīs sāl kānda (the Chintang uprising movement of 2036 [1979/1980]) are lined up in life size sculptures, merged with another martyr of the communist movement in Nepal, Madan Bhandāri, who died under mysterious circumstances in 1993 (see Gaenszle et al. 2013 for more detailed information regarding this incident).

The road proceeds on the northern side of the ridge where the original settlement area of the Chintang people is located. The best and flattest land is in and around the locality known as Mulgāũ (lit. ‘Main village’). Apparently, this spread settlement — now extending across ward no. 2 and 3 — is the place which was first inhabited by settlers and from where

the village expanded. This is also the location of the famous Chintang Devi temple. Further to the west, on the same level but after a bend to the left, there is Sambugāũ (in ward no. 6), a separate hamlet which originally was established by members of the Sambhong clan — the senior-most of all the original Chintang clans. The place at the slope's edge, where the road turns south-west, is presently the location of the high school. The road continues towards Pāngnām (in ward no. 8), where it eventually continues as the old footpath leading down to the confluence of the Arun and Tamur Rivers. During the documentation of Chintang (2004–2008) we found two different dialects of Chintang based in these two villages Mulgāũ and Sambugāũ, but the difference between them is only in the morphology and lexicon, not in the syntax. Unless noted otherwise, examples in this thesis are from the Mulgāũ dialect of Chintang.

1.3 The ethnic and religious situation

There are more than 40 different Rai clans in Chintang VDC. Only 12 of these are genuine Chintang Rai, the others are mainly of Bantawa origin, but also from other Rai subtribes, such as Kulung, Khaling, Puma, Sangpang, Lohorung, Athpare, and Thulung. Today these non-Chintang Rai do not have a very distinct ethnic identity based on language and culture. They tend to assimilate to the dominant culture, yet their general affiliation is still remembered. As, with exception of the Bantawa, these Rai subtribes are present only in small numbers, they generally marry only outside their group and thus function more like a clan than like a subtribe (which tends to be endogamous).

It is difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between Rai religion and Hindu religion, as the Rai in general, and particularly in this area, have been influenced by Hindu traditions to a considerable degree. The famous Chintang Devi (the local shrine of the Goddess Chintang devi), which is worshiped by caste Hindus from afar, is located in a sacred grove and temple in the centre of the core village. She 'belongs' to the Chintang Rai, who have discovered her at the time of the first settlement and who have been her *pujari* (priest) for more than 14 generations. Yet in spite of this Hindu association, the religious practice of the Chintang Rai is guided by ancestral values as transmitted in the oral lore of the Kiranti mundhum. Thus, their religion is highly syncretic and in many respects does not conform to orthodox Hinduism. For example, for most Chintang blood sacrifice and the offering and consumption of alcoholic

drink (local beer), shamanic healing and Rai language invocations are part and parcel of their religious customs, which can be described as a tribal religion.

In addition to Hindu and Kiranti religions, there are also a large number of people in Sambugāũ who practice Kabir Panth since the last few generations. This is a religious movement originally initiated by the Indian poet saint Satguru Kabir Saheb in the 13th century AD. In this religious movement, the followers, who are usually known as Kabir Panthi, neither eat meat nor sacrifice any type of animal. Alcohol is also strictly prohibited in their communities. They perform all types of ritual activities in a sacred worshipping known as *chauka* (Paudyal 2004).

1.4 Genealogical affiliation

Genealogically, Chintang belongs to the Kiranti subgroup of the large Tibeto-Burman (Sino-Tibetan) family. Within Kiranti, Bickel (2008a: 3) identified Chintang as Central-Eastern > Greater Eastern > Eastern > Greater Yakkha. The nearest linguistic relatives within Kiranti are the neighbouring languages Athpare, Belhare, and Chiling (also pronounced as Chiling or Chulung). There are two major dialects (Mulgāũ and Sambugāũ) named after the areas where they are spoken. The Sambugāũ dialect is more influenced by Bantawa and Nepali, while the Mulgāũ variety still preserves its uniqueness. As I mentioned above, the difference between these two dialects is found only in some parts of the morphology and lexicon, but not in the syntax.

A tentative family tree of the Kiranti subgroup based on Michailovsky (1994), Opgenort (2005), Driem (2001) and Bickel (2008a) is presented in Figure 1.3.

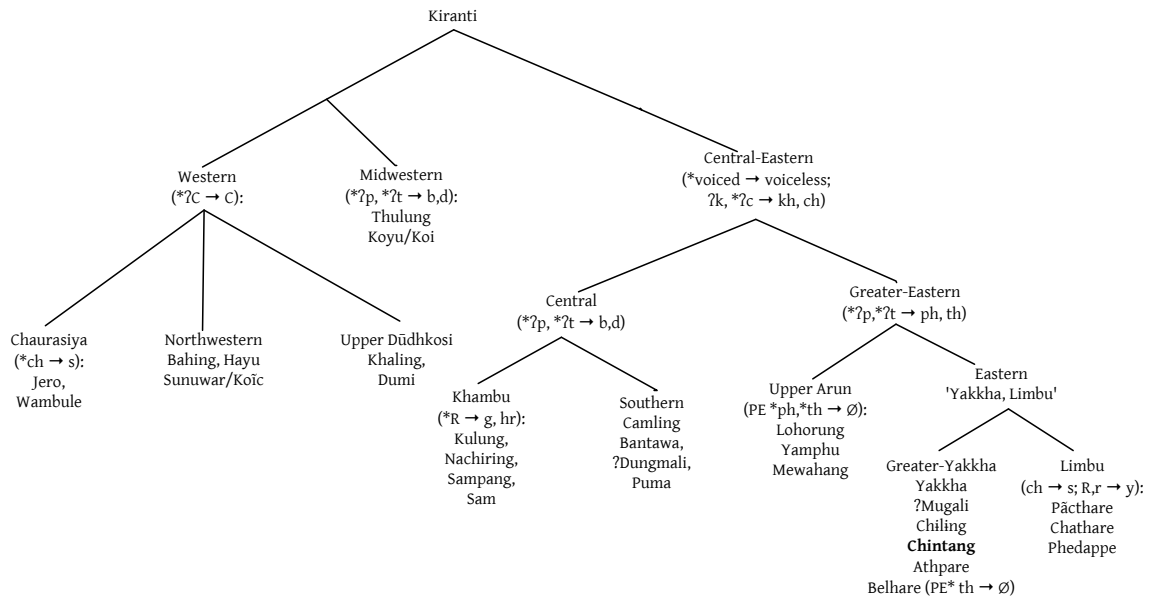


Figure 1.3: The Chintang language within the Kiranti subgroup (Bickel 2008a)

1.5 Sources of data and the fieldwork

This study is largely descriptive in its nature. It is primarily concerned with the description and analysis of Chintang syntax. But it also deals with the various other issues of Chintang grammar. The data analyzed in the present work come primarily from the Chintang corpus, collected during several projects and sub-projects since 2004 to present headed by Prof. Balthasar Bickel (Chintang and Puma Documentation project 2004–2009, a Euro BABEL grant on differential object marking from DFG) and Dr. Sabine Stoll (a Diltthey grant from Volkswagen Foundation on language acquisition research). Besides these projects, two PhD projects, one by Tyko Dirksmeyer on conversational structures (MPI for Psycholinguists in Nijmegen) and another one by myself on Aspects of Chintang Syntax (supported by DAAD) also contributed to the development of the Chintang corpus. Currently, the Chintang corpus includes approximately 1,218,765 words (transcribed and translated into Nepali and English). Out of this data more than 90% are fully glossed and the rest is in the process of being glossed by student assistants at the University of Zürich⁴. Among these projects and sub-projects, the major portion of the data was recorded, transcribed and glossed by the Chintang and Puma

⁴ <http://www.clrp.uzh.ch/>

Documentation Project (CPDP), a DoBeS project aiming at the linguistic and ethnographic documentation of two endangered Kiranti languages of Nepal, funded by Volkswagen Foundation, and carried out in a cooperation between the University of Leipzig and the Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal. Luckily, I also had the opportunity to work as a research assistant in this project (2004–2007).

I rely both on the corpus and elicited data in this dissertation. Of course, the majority of the data is drawn from the Chintang corpus. The examples cited with the label '[Fieldwork]' are collected during my fieldwork in Autumn of 2008 and spring of 2010. Examples beginning with CL are from our longitudinal child languages corpus, but all sentences cited in this dissertation were uttered by adult speakers. Both the corpus and the elicited data used in this thesis were further cross-checked with at least one, usually two speakers. Examples that are judged to be unacceptable have been marked by “*” in the Chintang sentence; the English translations have no such indications. In this dissertation, I analyse the data from the Mulgāũ dialect; so unless noted otherwise all the examples are from the Mulgāũ dialect of Chintang.

1.6 Goals and overview of the dissertation

As I mentioned above, the dissertation aims to give a descriptive overview of Chintang Syntax. It focuses primarily on noun phrase structure, basic clauses, complement clauses, nominalization strategies and various types of adverbial clauses in Chintang. However, it also deals with the basic phonology, morphology (both nominal and verbal) and the various types of particles and discourse markers in order to give an impression of Chintang grammar as a whole.

The organization of this dissertation is as follows. The current chapter serves as an introduction. It provides information about the linguistic situation in Nepal, the Chintang speech community and the ethnic and religious situation. It also deals briefly on the genetic affiliation of this language and the sources of the data & the fieldwork setting. Chapter 2 discusses the phonological system and deal with the inventory of the sound segments of the language, differentiating phonemes from allophones, simple vowels from diphthongs, and single consonants from consonant clusters. Towards the end of this chapter, it discusses briefly on the syllable structure and the basic morphophonemic rules of Chintang.

Chapters 3 and 4 deal with noun and verb morphology respectively. Under noun morphology, I discuss nouns, pronouns, adjectives, possessive agreement, derivation, compounding, classifiers and diminutives. Verb morphology is concerned primarily with the temporal, modal and aspectual categories of Chintang, and shows how they relate. Chapter 4 also describes the morphological aspects of Chintang verbs with particular focus on verb stems and verbal paradigms.

Chapter 5 outlines the types of complex predicates existing in Chintang, including compound verbs, preverbal compounds and borrowed verb compounds. It provides a detailed description of meanings and usage of complex predicates and their classification in Chintang.

In chapter 6, I briefly discuss Chintang adverbs and classify them in terms of their semantics. I also discuss how the Chintang adverbs are derived through duplication processes and ideophonic roots.

In chapter 7, I describe the structure of the noun phrase and the various strategies of forming complex noun phrases in Chintang. This chapter also investigates in detail the elements which can modify a head noun.

Chapter 8 is concerned with the various clause structures of Chintang. The topics covered include word order, interrogative clauses, coordination, experiencer constructions, direct speech with *mo* and reportative *pho*.

Nominalization is a pervasive feature of many Kiranti languages. This is a highly productive phenomenon in Chintang as well. But unlike in some other languages, nominalization in Chintang extends beyond its core function of deriving nominals from non-nominals. I describe the extent of nominalization strategies in Chapter 9.

In chapter 10, I analyse the various complement taking predicates with respect to their complementation patterns and control properties. I investigate in detail on two unusual features, i.e. long-distance agreement and backward control phenomena within infinitival complement clauses in Chintang.

In chapter 11, I describe the different types of finite and non-finite adverbial (subordinate) clauses with respect to their morphological, semantic and syntactic properties. Towards the end of this chapter, I describe all the variable clause linkers which form both nonfinite and finite clauses.

Chapter 12 deals with particles and discourse markers in Chintang. It also presents the most frequent borrowed particles with relevant textual examples. This chapter further investigates briefly on particle clusters and the occurrence of particles in the various levels of discourse.

The last chapter contains concluding remarks and discussion about the material presented in the preceding chapters.

Chapter 2

Phonology

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a description of Chintang phonology. The emphasis is on the basic sound structures of the language such as inventory of phonemes, syllable structure, phonotactics and morphophonemic rules. The structure of this chapter is as follows: in §2.1, I discuss consonant phonemes and their allophones. In subsections 2.1.6 and 2.1.7, I move on to a description of phonotactics, such as the distribution of consonants and consonant clusters.¹ In §2.2, I describe briefly the vowels. Then, in §2.3, I analyze the syllable structure and I provide with an overview of the most frequent morphophonological rules in §2.4. This chapter ends in §2.5 with a brief discussion on suprasegmental features in Chintang.

2.1 Consonants

The consonant inventory in Chintang is quite elaborate, with twenty-seven consonants (excluding borrowed consonants from other languages). Chintang, like many other South Asian languages, exhibits a four way contrast in stops and affricates (voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiced, and voiced aspirated). But unlike in other languages, there is a very rare lateral aspirated phoneme /lʰ/ in Chintang. Table 2.1 presents the inventory of

¹ I have not included all possible minimal pairs and their contrasts in this chapter. All the minimal pair contrasts have been elicited and deposited with audiovisual recording in the DoBes archive www.mpi.nl/DOBES

Chintang consonant phonemes. The phonemes on the right hand side of each box are the voiced phonemes. Phonemes occurring mainly in loans are excluded from this table.

	bilabial -voice +voice		apico-alveolar -voice +voice		alveo-palatal -voice +voice		velar -voice +voice		glottal	
stops +aspirated	p p ^h	b b ^h	t t ^h	d d ^h			k k ^h	g g ^h		ʔ
fricatives			s							ɦ
affricates +aspirated					c c ^h	j j ^h				
nasal		m		n				ŋ		
liquid				l l ^h						
glides		w				y				
trill/flap				r						

Table 2.1: Chintang consonants

Among stops and affricates the bilabials /p/, /b/, the apico-alveolar /t/, /d/, the alveo-palatal /c/, /j/ and the velars /k/, /g/ have their aspirated counterparts /p^h/, /b^h/, /t^h/, /d^h/, /c^h/, /k^h/ and /g^h/ respectively. Precisely, /t/, /d/, /t^h/, /d^h/ and /n/ are apico-post alveolar and /l/, /l^h/ and /r/ are true apico-alveolars which are articulated with the apex of the tongue touching or near the alveolar ridge. Moreover, the phoneme /s/ which is also in the same column is lamino alveolar in Chintang. The consonant phonemes were established on the basis of minimal pairs. Where there were no minimal pairs, near minimal pairs were used. Examples are given below:

(2.1)	<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	/k/	[koma]	‘to walk’
	/k ^h /	[k ^h oma]	‘to collect’
	/c/	[cama]	‘to eat’
	/c ^h /	[c ^h ama]	‘to beget’

/t/	[tupma]	‘to meet’
/t ^h /	[t ^h upma]	‘to sew’
/d/	[doĩma]	‘to attack, grab’
/d ^h /	[d ^h oĩma]	‘to pounce’
/p/	[pima]	‘to give’
/p ^h /	[p ^h ima]	‘to fart’
/b/	[boŋma]	‘to explode’
/b ^h /	[b ^h oŋma]	‘to gather’
/m/	[makma]	‘to burn’
/n/	[nakma]	‘to ask, beg’
/s/	[saĩma]	‘to place (a musical instrument)’
/ɦ/	[ɦaĩma]	‘to talk’
/l/	[likma]	‘to enter’
/l ^h /	[l ^h ikma]	‘be heavy’
/y/	[yaŋma]	‘to be good for’
/w/	[waŋma]	‘to climb tree’
/ʔ/	[leiʔma]	‘to plant’
	[leĩma]	‘to move things’
/r/	[reiʔma]	‘to laugh’
/m/	[maŋma]	‘Goddess’
/ŋ/	[ŋaŋma]	‘to stir’

There are neither minimal pairs nor sub-minimal pairs of the following four phonemes /g, g^h, j and j^h/. As they are quite frequent in loans from Nepali, they look as if they are borrowed to Chintang from Nepali. However, when taking a closer look at Chintang lexical items one can easily find a number of native words with these phonemes. Consider the following most common forms:

(2.2)	/g/	[gomma]	‘surrounding’
	/g ^h /	[g ^h oŋma]	‘to grow high’
	/j/	[jaŋgha]	‘to stand difficulty’
	/j ^h /	[j ^h ima]	‘to bare (one’s teeth)’

[j ^h ĩma]	‘to be peeled, peel off’
[j ^h ĩĩma]	‘to become outworn’

Like all other Eastern Kiranti languages, Chintang lacks a series of dental consonants (Nep. त, थ, द, ध) which is found in most of the languages of South-Asia including some central Kiranti languages (e.g., Bantawa (Rai 1985), and Puma (Rai et al. 2008)). Unlike many other Kiranti languages, there is a voiced aspirated lateral consonant in Chintang. However, it is attested only in a single minimal pair.

I will discuss the consonants one by one with respect to their type of articulation, i.e. stops, fricatives, nasals, and glides in the following sections.

2.1.1 Stop consonants

The stop consonants except for the glottal stop have a symmetrical arrangement of aspirated and unaspirated phonemes. All the stop consonants including the glottal stop can occur in syllable onset position with virtually any vowel combination. However, the aspirated consonants cannot appear in word final position. Furthermore, the unaspirated voiceless consonants /p/, /t/, /k/ are not released in the coda positions.

All the voiced aspirated stops are rare consonants (b^h, d^h, g^h); among them /g^h/ is the rarest phoneme, occurring in only few words, a large proportion of which are obviously borrowed. I analyzed it as a Chintang phoneme because it is in contrastive distribution with other phonemes.

A frequent process in voiceless codas is the voicing of the plosive when followed by a vowel. Consider the next three examples:

(2.3)	a.	<i>khat-</i>	‘go’	<i>khad-e</i>	‘went’
	b.	<i>yak-</i>	‘stay overnight’	<i>yag-e</i>	‘stayed overnight’
	c.	<i>dup-</i>	‘pinch’	<i>dub-e</i>	‘pinched’

The bilabial stops /p/ and /b/ are in complementary distribution in almost all environments except in word-initial position. This can be illustrated with the locative case suffix *-pe?*, which is realized as *-be?* after nasals and in intervocalic positions, but as *-pe?* elsewhere.

2.1.2 Fricatives

There are only two fricatives in Chintang /s/ and /ɸ/. Both /s/ and /ɸ/ cannot occur syllable-finally. However, /s/ appears as a stem final consonant in a large number of verbs.

(2.4) Initial /ɸ/

- | | | |
|----|----------------|---------|
| a. | <i>ɸaknuwa</i> | ‘heat’ |
| b. | <i>ɸakaŋ</i> | ‘later’ |
| c. | <i>ɸali</i> | ‘blood’ |

(2.5) Stem final /s/

- | | | |
|----|--------------|-------------------|
| a. | <i>tiŋs-</i> | ‘kick’ |
| b. | <i>ŋis-</i> | ‘know, recognize’ |
| c. | <i>puĩs-</i> | ‘produce’ |

2.1.3 Nasals

There are three nasal phonemes /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/. All three can occur in syllable-initial and syllable-final position. However, /ŋ/ in syllable initial position is mostly found in the Sambugāũ dialect of Chintang, whereas it is replaced by /n/ in the Mulgāũ dialect.

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|-----------------|------------|
| (2.6) | <u>Mulgāũ</u> | <u>Sambugāũ</u> | |
| a. | <i>naklasi</i> | <i>ŋaklasi</i> | ‘banana’ |
| b. | <i>nassa</i> | <i>ŋassa</i> | ‘fish’ |
| c. | <i>naŋsubba</i> | <i>ŋaŋsubba</i> | ‘a shaman’ |

2.1.4 Glides

The glides /w/ and /y/ both occur syllable-initially, but they cannot appear as a second member to form complex onsets like in Nepali. It means there are no sequences like /py/, /pw/, and the like in Chintang. The following examples show the glides /y/ and /w/ as consonantal onsets.

(2.7) Initial /w/

- | | | |
|----|-----------|-------|
| a. | <i>wa</i> | ‘hen’ |
|----|-----------|-------|

- b. *wahum* ‘a calabash’
- c. *wamurki* ‘a kind of grass’

(2.8) Initial /y/

- a. *yak-* ‘stay’
- b. *yum* ‘salt’
- c. *yupun* ‘ancestor worshipping ritual’

Like in Chintang, a glide following another consonant to form a cluster in a syllable onset position, is not found in most of the other Kiranti languages, such as Bantawa (Rai 1985), Puma (Rai et al. 2008), if not in all.

2.1.5 Aspiration

Like in other Tibeto-Burman languages, aspiration is restricted to stops and affricates. However, unlike in other languages, such as Kham (Watters 2002), there is aspiration of both voiced and voiceless consonants in Chintang. For example, /p^h/, /b^h/, /t^h/, /d^h/, /k^h/, /g^h/, /j^h/, and /c^h/. Like voicing (t, d), aspiration is also phonemic (e.g., *kat* - ‘come up’, *khat*- ‘go’). As mentioned previously, the aspiration is restricted to syllable onsets. Moreover, there is a voiced lateral aspirated phoneme /l^h/ which has not been attested in any other Kiranti languages except in Camling and Chintang.

2.1.6 Distribution of consonant phonemes

There are a number of restrictions on the occurrence of phonemes, in terms of position in a syllable. Table 2.2 presents an outline of the distribution of consonants in different positions like syllable-initial, intervocalic and syllable-final.

phoneme	#_	v_v	_#
/p/	+	+	+
/b/	+	+	-
/p ^h /	+	-	-
/b ^h /	+	-	-
/t/	+	+	-
/d/	+	+	-
/t ^h /	+	-	-
/d ^h /	+	-	-
/c/	+	+	-
/c ^h /	+	-	-
/j/	+	+	-
/j ^h /	+	-	-
/k/	+	+	+
/g/	+	+	-
/g ^h /	+	-	-
/k ^h /	+	+	-
/ʔ/	+	+	+
/s/	+	+	-
/h/	+	+	-
/m/	+	+	+
/n/	+	+	-
/ŋ/	+	+	+
/l/	+	+	-
/r/	+	+	-
/w/	+	+	-
/y/	+	+	-
/l ⁶ /	+	-	-

Table 2.2: Distribution of consonants

From table 2.2, we can summarize the characteristics of Chintang consonants in the following points:

- a. All Chintang consonants can appear in word initial position, i.e. there is no constraint on this position.
- b. Aspirated phonemes can occur neither in intervocalic position nor in word final position. However, they do appear in these positions in loan words from Nepali. For example: *buluph* ‘bulb’, *katha* ‘story’, *aghe* ‘long time ago’.
- c. Semivowels /y/ and /w/ can occur in syllable-initial positions, e.g. *wassa* ‘bird’, *yakma* ‘to stay’ and medially, e.g. *ayuba* ‘there’, *duwacha* ‘male baby’.
- d. The phoneme /r/ can occur in inter-vocalic position in Chintang, e.g. *khura* ‘Please carry.’ This might be a Bantawa influence as well.
- e. The phoneme /c/ is phonetically realized like a palatalized version of the affricate [ts]. The same type of pronunciation is found with the aspirated version [ts^h].

2.1.7 Consonant clusters and geminate consonants

Chintang does not allow consonant clusters both in the onset and coda positions of a syllable. At the syllable boundary in Chintang words, however, consonant clusters are possible. There are a large number of Chintang native words in our corpus where clusters are made in the boundaries two different syllables. This section covers all the possible consonant clusters occur in the border of syllables.

Table 2.3 provides a complete overview of possible consonant clusters which occur in syllable boundaries in Chintang.

	p	p ^h	b	b ^h	m	c	c ^h	j	t	t ^h	d	d ^h	n	k	k ^h	g	g ^h	ŋ	l	r	w	y	s
p	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
m	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
c	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
t	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
n	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
k	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
ŋ	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
l	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
r	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ʔ	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+

Table 2.3: Possible consonant clusters in Chintang

In this table, the column on the left lists all Chintang consonants which can appear as C₁ and the upper horizontal row lists the Chintang consonants which may appear as C₂ in a typical consonant cluster in Chintang. The consonants which cannot occur as the first member in a consonant cluster, i.e. C₁, are excluded from this table.

(2.9) sets out examples of each of these possible consonant clusters in actual words.

(2.9)

pp	=	<i>uppa</i>	‘his father’
pp ^h	=	<i>sapphi</i>	‘much’
ms	=	<i>thurumsupma</i>	‘a ritual’
cc	=	<i>khacce</i>	‘Lets (we two) go.’
tl	=	<i>patle</i>	‘a place in Chintang’
nc	=	<i>phincirip</i>	‘a larva of a kind of blow fly’
nc ^h	=	<i>manchi?</i>	‘be not’
nt	=	<i>hunta</i>	‘that’

nt ^h	=	<i>maikhintha</i>	‘do not pull it’
nd	=	<i>asinda</i>	‘yesterday’
nd ^h	=	<i>andha</i>	‘dark’
nn	=	<i>anne</i>	‘my sister’
nk	=	<i>honku (honku)</i>	‘river’
ŋy	=	<i>poiŋyoŋ</i>	‘cradle’
ks	=	<i>taliksin</i>	‘a shaman’
kc	=	<i>bakcasip</i>	‘beer dregs’
ŋr	=	<i>riŋriwa</i>	‘a ritual’
ŋn	=	<i>khaŋnumma</i>	‘to see’
ŋk ^h	=	<i>taŋkhorok</i>	‘skull’
kk ^h	=	<i>yakkheŋ</i>	‘curry’
ŋl	=	<i>gakkaŋle</i>	‘only later’
ŋs	=	<i>paŋsula</i>	‘shinbone’
lt	=	<i>phultuŋ</i>	‘underwear’
kn	=	<i>cekno</i>	‘S/he speaks.’
ŋm	=	<i>poŋma</i>	‘give birth’
pn=	=	<i>lapno</i>	‘S/he catches.’
nl=	=	<i>hunlam</i>	‘via that’
kc ^h	=	<i>nakchoŋ</i>	‘main priest in Chintang, a clan’
kd ^h	=	<i>kokdhe</i>	‘curved, bend (only with this adjective and with some ideophones)’
kt ^h	=	<i>maitoktha</i>	‘Don’t move!’
kg	=	<i>cekgo</i>	‘the one which was spoken’
ŋp	=	<i>cikcikeŋpako</i>	‘a bird’
ŋb ^h	=	<i>saŋbhoŋ</i>	‘a clan’
ŋt	=	<i>luŋtakbe</i>	‘on the stone’
ŋg	=	<i>huŋgoi?</i>	‘there’
ŋw	=	<i>beŋbeŋbeŋwa</i>	‘straightly’ (mostly with ideophones)
ŋy	=	<i>maikhanyoktuhẽ</i>	‘i did not see it’ (only in negative forms)
rm	=	<i>parmeswora</i>	‘lord’ (only with borrowed forms)

rc	=	<i>marci</i>	‘chilly’
ʔp	=	<i>kakhuiʔppa</i>	‘thief’
ʔb	=	<i>uteiʔbe</i>	‘on cloth’
ʔm	=	<i>miʔmuŋ</i>	‘little’
ʔc	=	<i>teiʔce</i>	‘clothes’
ʔt	=	<i>baiʔta</i>	‘here’
ʔn	=	<i>eʔni</i>	‘yes’
ʔk	=	<i>saiʔko</i>	‘whose’
ʔk ^h	=	<i>cuʔkhaĩ</i>	‘a kind of fodder tree’
ʔŋ	=	<i>bagoiʔŋa</i>	‘from here’
ʔl	=	<i>baiʔle</i>	‘only this one’
ʔw	=	<i>siŋsaʔwa</i>	‘hunger’
ʔy	=	<i>baiʔyã</i>	‘from here’
ʔs	=	<i>puʔsi</i>	‘in order to pluck’

The clusters *tp*, *tp^h*, *rm*, and *rl* are found in borrowed words, e.g. *datpen* ‘ball-pen’, *chatpat* ‘restlessness’, mostly in borrowed ideophones from Nepali, e.g. *phitphiti* ‘struggling’.

2.2 Vowel phonemes

Chintang distinguishes 6 monophthongal vowels /i/, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, and /a/ which represent three grades of vowel height and three steps on the front back scale. There is no phonetic contrasts between short and long vowels, but the vowels can vary in length, mainly as a result of syllable stress. It distinguishes the same number of pure diphthongs. But every diphthong has got a corresponding nasalized form as well, which makes twelve diphthongs in Chintang. The twelve possible diphthongs are given in (2.10).

(2.10) /ei/, /ai/, /oi/, /ui/, /au/, /ii/ and /eĩ/, /aĩ/, /oĩ/, /uĩ/, /aũ/, /iĩ/

2.2.1 Monophthongs

Chintang has six plain distinctive monophthongal vowel phonemes: a high front unrounded /i/, high-central unrounded /i/, a high back rounded /u/, a mid front unrounded /e/, a mid back rounded /o/, and a mid central neutral /a/. There is no length distinction in Chintang

monophthongs. All vowels can occur in all positions in a word. The high-central unrounded /i/ is quite rare both in syllable initial and final positions.

Table 2.4 presents an overview of the vowels in Chintang. This table also shows the three heights for front and back vowels.

/i/	/ɨ/	/u/
/e/		/o/
	/a/	

Table 2.4: The vowel inventory of Chintang

Unlike in Puma, Bantawa and some other Kiranti languages, there is no /ʌ/ vowel in Chintang. All the borrowed forms ending in /ʌ/ are changed into /a/ in Chintang. The following minimal pairs show the phonemic status of the monophthongs.

(2.11)	<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	/i/	[lim]	‘pointed part’
	/e/	[lem]	‘tongue’
	/u/	[lukma]	‘to spill water’
	/ɨ/	[likma]	‘to enter inside’
	/o/	[toŋma]	‘to fit together’
	/a/	[taŋma]	‘to put something in mild heat’

2.2.2 Diphthongs

There are six diphthongs in Chintang viz. [ei, ai, oi, ui, au, ɨi], all of which end in either a high front vowel /i/ or a high back vowel /u/. As stated earlier, every diphthong has got a corresponding nasalized form as well [eĩ, aĩ, oĩ, uĩ, aũ, ɨĩ], which makes twelve diphthongs in Chintang. The diphthongs [ei oi ui] occur only before glottal stop [ʔ] (see 2.12, 2.16, and 2.18) or get nasalized (see 2.13, 2.17 and 2.19). This is also true for most instances of [ai] (exceptions

are mainly found in loan words). Nasality of diphthongs has phonemic status in Chintang. All diphthongs are illustrated with the corresponding minimal pairs in (2.12-2.23):

(2.12) /ei/

[heiʔ]	‘louse of clothe’
[teiʔ]	‘cloth’
[weiʔ]	‘rain’

(2.13) /eĩ/

[leĩma]	‘to serve water’
[teĩ]	‘village’
[bheĩ]	‘under’

(2.14) /ai/

[raiʔma]	‘to make noise’
[rimaile]	‘a kind of herb’
[baiʔ]	‘here’

(2.15) /aĩ/

[paĩ]	‘today’
[saĩma]	‘to play (radio or musical instruments)’
[waĩma]	‘to stir (rice, etc.)’

(2.16) /oi/

[hokkoiʔ]	‘where’
[choboiʔ]	‘a kind of vegetable’
[hoiʔma]	‘to break’

(2.17) /oĩ/

[doĩma]	‘to grab’
[dhoĩma]	‘to attack suddenly’
[boĩma]	‘to set the mud after seeding’

(2.18) /ui/

[huiʔma]	‘to burn’
[khuiʔma]	‘steal’

(2.19) /uĩ/

[uĩma]	‘to be short’
[huĩʔma]	‘to remove tooth’
[cuĩma]	‘to wrinkle’

(2.20) /au/

[uchau]	‘his/her child’
[gauroŋma]	‘A female who belongs to Gaurong clan’
[phauwa]	‘a leaf’

(2.21) /aũ/

[saũwa]	‘buffalo’
[laũwa]	‘leg’
[jaũle] ²	‘twins’

(2.22) /ii/

[khiiʔma]	‘to comb’
[piiʔma]	‘graze; scrape; scratch open’

(2.23) /ĩĩ/

[khĩĩma]	‘be pulled; stretch’
[ghĩĩma]	‘open wide (eyelid)’
[jhĩĩma]	‘be damaged, be spoilt’

Diphthongs occur quite frequently in this language. However, in comparison to monophthongs, diphthongs are less frequent in the Chintang corpus. Diphthongs are particularly common in loans from Nepali. The diphthongs /au, aũ, ui, ii/ are extremely rare, but they do occur in a handful of native Chintang words.

² This is probably borrowed from Nepali *jamlyā/jumlyā* or also *jumlyāhā* in the western dialect of Nepali.

2.2.3 Vowel sequences

Unlike diphthongs, the vowel sequences are pronounced in hiatus; they each comprise a separate syllable without intervening glide. There are extremely few vowel sequences in Chintang, and they are restricted to some verbs whose stem ends in a vowel. The high front unrounded /i/ often forms sequences with mid front unrounded /e/ and /a/ (2.24) and (2.25). Some examples of vowel sequences are given below:

(2.24) <ie> Sequence

- a. *tie* 'S/he came.'
- b. *cie* 'S/he ate.'
- c. *thie* 'S/he came down.'

(2.25) <ia> Sequence

- a. *ciaŋse* 'S/he has eaten.'
- b. *tialie* 'S/he has already come.'
- c. *siade* 'It died.'

Furthermore, there are some vowel sequences where /i/ is preceded by /a/ and /u/ (2.26) and (2.27). Like the above sequences of vowels, <ai> and <ui> sequences are also limited to verbs.

(2.26) <ai> Sequence

- a. *aimno* 'Do you sleep?'
- b. *taiki* 'We come.'

(2.27) <ui> Sequence

uimno 'They sleep.'

Moreover, the high central unrounded /i/ sometimes also forms a sequence with a high back rounded /u/ when the following velar nasal ends up being nasalized, as shown in (2.28):

(2.28) <iũ> Sequence

- a. *liũwa* > *liŋwa* 'grass for drying; hay; straw; thatch'

- b. *niũwa* > *niŋwa* ‘happiness’

However, this is actually rather like a VC sequence as /ũ/ in these cases (and similarly *aũ*, *oĩ*, *iũ*, etc.) originates from /ŋ/.

Similarly, the sequence of high central unrounded /i/ and mid front unrounded /e/ is found in the syllable boundary of a verb. There is no other example of this sequence in Chintang. Like <ie> sequence, the <ie> sequence is also not attested in nouns.

(2.29) <ie> Sequence

- rie* ‘S/he turned around.’

Finally, there are few instances in our corpus where the mid central neutral /a/ forms a sequence with /i/, /a/ or /u/. Some examples of these sequences are given in (2.30).

- (2.30) a. *anaik* ‘our land’
 b. *konaagonno* ‘You walk around.’
 c. *habaugonde* ‘They cried.’

In our data, the unrounded vowel /i/ commonly forms sequence with three vowels, particularly with /i, e, u/.

2.3 Syllable structure

The canonical syllable structure of Chintang may be schematized as (C | G) V (C), where “C” is a consonant, “G” a glide and “V” a vowel. The brackets indicate that it is possible to have a single vowel as a syllable. The nucleus V is obligatory and it can be preceded by a consonant (C) or a glide (G), but not both at a same time in a single syllable. Similarly, it can be followed by either a consonant or remain open.

In Chintang, the minimal word consists of a consonant and a vowel. A vowel alone does not form a meaningful word. If a word starts with a vowel, there is an obligatory epenthesis of the glottal stop.

The following table presents the possible syllable structures in Chintang.

<u>Syllable</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Structure</u>
[i-]	‘2sPOSS-’	V
[ep]	‘defecate’	VC
[mi]	‘fire’	CV
[nam]	‘sun’	CVC
[yum]	‘salt’	GVC

Table 2.5: Syllable structure in Chintang

This schema shows that a syllable may consist of a vowel alone, or a vowel either followed by a consonant or preceded by a consonant or both, i.e. (CVC), in which the last consonant is the final and closing segment of a syllable. Both the onset and coda consist of a single consonant in a typical Chintang syllable.

Mostly the obstruents and nasals appear in coda position of a syllable in Chintang. As I stated earlier, affricates and fricatives do not occur in syllable-final position. There are no complex onsets and codas in Chintang. Moreover, Chintang does not allow vowel initial phonological words (Bickel et al. 2007). If there is no underlying consonant in the onset position, a glottal stop is automatically added, e.g. *?asinda* ‘yesterday’. This phenomenon can also be noticed with stems beginning with vowels, e.g. *a-mai-ep-t-e* > (*?a*) (*mai*) (*?epte*) ‘You didn’t get up.’ However, the glottal stop is skipped in rapid speech.

2.4 Basic morphophonemic rules

A number of phonological changes occur when morphemes are combined, for example, verbal stems can be affected in different ways when they are combined with affixes. In this section, I deal with some of the most frequent morphophonemic processes occur in Chintang.

2.4.1 Voicing

Stem final consonants of verbs are obligatorily voiced before vowels (2.31a,b). Furthermore, the onset of the vector verbs in verbal compounds is optionally voiced, as in (2.32a,b).

- (2.31) a. *thap-e* → *thab-e*
 [3sS]come.level-PST
 ‘S/he came.’

- b. *tok-e* → *tog-e*
[3sS]get-PST
'S/he got.'
- (2.32) a. *ca-ma-pi-ma* → *ca-ma-bi-ma*
eat-INF-BEN₁-INF
'Give [G] [T] to eat.'
- b. *khaŋ-ma-pi-ma* → *khaŋ-ma-bi-ma*
see-INF-BEN₁-INF
'allow to see'

However, there is no voicing in other positions, for instance, after prefixes, as in (2.33).

- (2.33) a. *u-pid-e* (**u-bide*)
3ns-give-PST
'They gave.'
- b. *a-tog-e* (**a-dog-e*)
2s-get-PST
'Did you get it?'

The voicing rule applies only to verbs. There is no evidence in nouns.

2.4.2 Velar nasal drop

Intervocalic velar nasal /ŋ/ is dropped within a word, i.e, is in non-peripheral syllables (Bickel et al. 2007). For example, in (2.34a,c), the intervocalic /ŋ/ is deleted when it appears word-internally. But it is not deleted in the peripheral position in (2.34b).

- (2.34) a. *tub-i-ŋa-e-hě* → *tub-i-e-hě*
meet-p-e-PST-1ns.PST
'We (excl.) met.'
- b. *tub-i-ki-ŋa*
meet-p-NPST-e
'We (excl.) meet.'

- c. *kha-ŋ-e* → *kha-e*
 see-1sS-PST
 ‘I saw.’

However, the velar nasal is not dropped when it occurs between /o/ and /e/, e.g. *toŋe* ‘it matched’ or ‘May it match!’. Moreover, of the two velar nasals in a row that are separated only by one vowel, only the first one is dropped: cf. *thuŋiŋa-pa* > *thuŋi-pa*, **thuŋia-pa*. But *thuŋikiŋa* > *thuikia*, since the velar nasals are separated by another consonant.

2.4.3 Vowel deletion

One of the the most general phonological rules that obscure affix boundaries is the deletion of *a*, *u*, and *e* before other vowels. This process is again morphologically determined.

- (2.35) $a, e, u \rightarrow \emptyset / _V$ (except with prefixes and stem final vowels)

For instance the *-e* of dual or nonsingular suffix *-ce* is elided when it is followed by the past marker *-e* and person marker *-o*, as illustrated in (2.36).

- (2.36) a. *u-sams-a-ce-e* → *usamsace* ‘They become separated.’
 b. *u-khad-a-ce-e* → *ukhadace* ‘They (d) went.’
 c. *u-tup-ce-o-ko* → *utupcoko* ‘They (two) meet him/her.’

The past base marker *-a* is elided before *-u*, and *-e*, as shown in (2.37).

- (2.37) a. *a-nis-a-u-ce-e* → *anisuce* ‘Did you know him.’
 b. *tup-na-e-hẽ* → *tupnehẽ* ‘I met you.’

The third person undergoer marker *-u* is deleted before the imperative marker *-a*, as illustrated in (2.38)

- (2.38) a. *mett-u-a-dhend-a* → *mett-a-nd-a* ‘Please, do it!’ [CLDLCh3R01S04.083a]
 b. *pid-u-a-bid-a* → *pid-a-nd-a* ‘Please give him’ [CLLDCh3R03S02a.040]

2.4.4 Consonant deletion

The second consonant is deleted when there are three consonants in a row. It is an absolutely rigid constraint that follows logically from the syllable structure of the languages. Some examples are given in (2.39).

- (2.39) a. *mai-tupt-no* → *maitupno* ‘S/he meets us (1pi).’
 b. *tupt-na-ʔã* → *tupnaʔã* ‘I meet you.’
 c. *a-rett-ce-ke* → *areʔceke* ‘You (d) laugh.’

2.4.5 Assimilation of velar nasal to labial

In Chintang, the velar nasal /ŋ/ of a suffix following a stem with the bilabial *m*, or *p*, is often assimilated to bilabials, as in (2.40).

- (2.40) a. *u-tup-ŋa-ʔã* → *utupmaʔã* ‘S/he meets me.’
 b. *u-lap-ŋa-ʔã* → *ulapmaʔã* ‘S/he catches me.’

2.5 Suprasegmental features

There are no pitch or tone contrasts in Chintang. Chintang words contain one main stress, which regularly falls on the last syllable of the lexical stem. With respect to compound forms (for example, compound verbs), the stress falls on the first stem. Prefixes are never stressed because they are part of the same stress word as the stem and the suffixes (Bickel et al. 2007). However, as observed in Bickel et al. (ibid), the prefixes form phonological subconstituents on their own within the word (2.41).

- (2.41) (ω_2 (ω pf/ $\Sigma 1$) (ω $\Sigma^{()}$ -sf)

In this representation, ω_2 denotes a level between the phonological word and the phonological phrase, which is the domain for stress assignment. The ω signifies the subdomain of ω_2 , and $\Sigma 1$ denotes the first member of the preverbal-verb compound.

In short, word stress in Chintang is weak and not distinctive. The only exceptions are certain sequences of words. For example, if we analyze the morphology of some

combinations, we find some minimal pairs like: '*khaca* 'food dregs', *kha'ca* 'he will eat us.' Similarly, when the stress falls on the first syllable in the word '*maila*', it means second son, while the meaning changes to 'he will return to us' when the stress falls on the second syllable. These examples also support the claim that the prefixes in Chintang, cannot be stressed. Thus, the morphology and the syntax interact with the stress: words normally stressed on one syllable may be stressed on a different syllable depending on the morphemes or words surrounding them.

2.6 Summary

This chapter has discussed aspects of Chintang phonology. There are twenty seven distinctive consonant phonemes in Chintang. They are classified in terms of manner of articulation, place of articulation, voicing and aspiration. A large number of consonants are stops (fifteen phonemes including a glottal stop). All consonant phonemes can occur in the word-initial position. Word-finally, however, a more limited set occurs, being restricted to nasals and voiceless unaspirated stops (except /t/). Moreover, the voiced obstruent series and the aspirate series are also disallowed in word final position. As for the vowels, there are six monophthongs and six diphthongs plus their nasalized counterparts.

The maximal syllable structure is CVC. Clusters only appear at syllable boundaries of a single phonological word. There are no complex clusters possible in a single syllable. The coda can only include stops or nasals. Gemination is possible in Chintang. In few cases, stem initial consonants are geminated after prefixes, for example, *a-pa* ~ *appa* 'my father', *a-na* ~ *anna* 'my sister'.

Chapter 3

Nominal Morphology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the nominal morphology in Chintang. Nominals include such parts of speech as nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals, and deictics. I discuss the various nominal categories in §3.1. This will be followed by sections on pronouns, possessive agreement, derivation/compounding and classifiers. There is a very small class of true adjectives in Chintang, which I describe in §3.6. Towards the end of this chapter, I briefly describe diminutives. Finally, I summarize the major findings in nominal morphology in Chintang.

3.1 Nominal categories

Nominals and verbs can be distinguished by their morphology. Finite verbs can be marked for person, number, and tense, whereas nouns are marked for case and number. However, this rule does not hold for derived nouns. For example, a verb form can be regularly nominalized using the nominalizer =*go* and then can be case marked (see chapter 9). Syntactically, the category noun co-occurs with demonstratives and functions as subject of a clause, object of a verb, modifier of a noun in a compound noun, and also as adverbial adjunct. There is no grammatical gender in Chintang. But like some other Kiranti languages, Chintang uses the morphemes *-pa* and *-ma*, a bit like gender, which refer to male and female being when they are combined to animate nouns.

3.1.1 Number

Number is a grammatical category in Chintang. There are three categories of number viz. singular, dual and plural. Like in other Kiranti languages, singular is an unmarked category, whereas the dual and plural are marked by suffixes. Chintang marks non-singular with the suffix *-ce* (ns) which expresses the non-singularity of both animate and inanimate objects. Nouns and third person pronouns do not distinguish between dual and plural. The distinction between dual and plural exists in pronouns of the first and the second person and in verbs. The number marker precedes any case markers and particles (3.1a,b).

- (3.1) a. *u-keŋ-ce=ta* *ma-pok-yokt-a-ŋs-e*
 3sPOSS-tooth-ns=FOC₁ NEG-rise-NEG-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘Her teeth have not come out.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.178]
- b. *ah* *u-c-o=ne* *cha-ce-ŋa*
 FILLER 3nsA-eat-3P=OPT child-ns-ERG
 ‘Well, let the children eat it!’ [CLLDCh1R03S01.0733]
- c. *jhiga-ce-ko* *huni-phok* *kha-no?*
 fly-ns-GEN 3nsPOSS-belly [3sS]go-NPST
 ‘Flies’ stomach becomes full.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.488]

The same non-singular suffix *-ce* is also used to form associative plural constructions where a noun (typically of human reference) is marked with it. Then the resulting form is interpreted as referring to a group associated with the previously identified person. For example, the noun in (3.2) does not refer to more than one person named Mankumar, but it refers to a group of people only one of whom bears this name, and the other referents are known as the associates of the focal referent, i.e. ‘Mankumar’ in this example.

- (3.2) *mankumar-ce*
 M.-ns
 ‘Mankumar and his friends’ [Fieldwork_2008]

Another interesting fact about Chintang number is that even uncountable nouns can take the plural suffix *-ce* without any problem, e.g. *kiya-ce* ‘oil bottles’, *makkai-ce* ‘maize grains’. Here the function of *-ce* includes ‘shape giving’ (i.e., oils in the different pots).¹ Furthermore, we can get non-singular agreement with a singular nominative and a comitative, as in *Rikhi-niŋ ti-a-ŋs-a-ce-hě*, [R.-COM come-PST-PERF-PST-d-1sS.PST] ‘I came with Rikhi.’

3.1.2 *-pa/-ma* sex markers

As stated earlier, there is no grammatical gender in Chintang. But like many other Kiranti languages, Chintang uses the morphemes *-pa* and *-ma*, a bit like gender, which refer to male and female beings respectively when they are attached to a noun. However, these morphemes are restricted to animate nouns.

The following examples illustrate the use of sex markers *-pa* and *-ma* with Chintang kinship terms (3.5 - 3.7) and nouns (3.8).

- (3.5) a. *u-nam-ba*
3sPOSS-parent.in.law-M
‘his/her father-in-law’
- b. *u-nam-ma*
3sPOSS-parent.in.law-F
‘his/her mother-in-law’
- c. *u-taya-ma*
3sPOSS-spouse-F
‘his wife’
- (3.6) a. *modraŋ-ba*
husband’s.sibling-M
‘husband’s younger brother’

¹ This is also possible in English (e.g. *Where did you put the oils?* meaning ‘bottle of oil’), but more commonly, plurals of English mass nouns refer to different kinds rather than the different units; such as *There are many oils in this store*, meaning many different kinds of oils.

- b. *modraŋ-ma*
husband's.sibling-F
'husband's younger sister'
- (3.7) a. *rikcha-ba*
'son's/daughter's.parent-in-law-M
'son's or daughter's father-in-law'
- b. *rikcha-ma*
son's/daughter's.parent-in-law-F
'son's or daughter's mother-in-law'
- (3.8) a. *kocu-ma* 'bitch' (mostly while scolding people)
dog-F
- b. *wa-pa* 'cock'
chicken-M
- c. *wa-ma* 'hen'
chicken-F

The sex markers *pa* and *ma* do not always appear as a suffix. In a few kinship terms, mostly with a bound morpheme, they can also appear as a prefix, (3.9a-d) which is not attested in any other Kiranti language, such as Koĩts (Rapacha 2005), Athpare (Ebert 1997a), and Kulung (Tolsma 2006).

- (3.9) a. *pa-dum* 'father's elder brother'
- b. *ma-dum* 'father's elder brother's wife'
- c. *pa-kku* 'father's younger brother'
- d. *ma-kku* 'father's younger brother's wife'

However, it is ungrammatical to attach the gender marker *-pa/-ma* as a suffix in these bound forms, as shown in the following examples.

- (3.10) a. **dum-pa* 'father's elder brother'
- b. **kku-ma* 'father's younger brother's wife'

Chintang also employs two different lexical items to distinguish between male and females in few pairs of forms. This can be seen in example (3.11).

- (3.11) a. *duwacha* 'a boy' *mechacha* 'a girl'
 b. *aphuwa* 'my brother' *anna* 'my sister'
 c. *thippa* 'father's father' *thigum* 'father's mother'

But the *-ma* morpheme does not only denote females, it also appears on concepts associated with femininity (3.12a). Moreover, it also attaches to stem to denote small animals (3.12b-d).

(3.12) Small animals

- a. *pagri-ma* 'colorful' (associated with femininity)
 b. *bala-ma* 'woodpecker'
 c. *menu-ma* 'cat'
 d. *wasu-ma* 'bee'

Moreover, *-ma* obligatorily occurs on names of female clan members, for example, *tele-ma* 'a Tele woman', *khinci-ma* 'a woman from Khinci clan', *sampan-ma* 'a woman from Sampan clan', and so on.

Furthermore, a similar issue is also found with the sex markers in *Samet/Samei?* clan names. The clan which denotes a man is usually marked with *-han* and the clans which denotes a woman is marked with *-mi*. For example, *Namci-han* and *Tunlu-mi* denote 'a man belonging to the Namci- clan' and 'a woman belonging to the Tunlu- clan' respectively.

This type of sex marking is not obligatory in all forms. There are some nouns which refer to either sex. In this case, the sex is distinguished on the basis of the context of their use, as in (3.13a). Sometimes the Nepali forms like *kancho* 'youngest male child' or *kanchi* 'youngest female child' are borrowed to distinguish between siblings they are talking about (3.13b).

- (3.13) a. *ripa* *u-nicha* *binisa* *ni*
 R. 3sPOSS-sibling B. FOC₂
 'Binisa is Ripa's sister.' [CLDLCh3R01S02.164]

- b. *a-nicha kanchi=yaŋ wei? pan-no*
 1sPOSS-sibling youngest.F=ADD rain [3sS]call-NPST
 ‘My younger sister calls rain.’ [CLLDCh1S12R05 448]

The sex markers *ma* and *pa* are also independent words. They can appear in isolation and denote female and male persons respectively.

Despite that, the marker *-ma* is also found with a number of nouns which are restricted to the ritual variety of the language. In this case, it has nothing to do with sex.

- (3.14) a. *meŋ-ma* ‘ginger’
 b. *micha-ma* ‘priest’
 c. *pabok-ma* ‘pig which is worshipped and offered to God.’
 d. *puwaŋ-ma* ‘house deity’

3.1.3 Case

A nominal in Chintang can be inflected for a number of cases. Most of the case markers are morphologically bound suffixes. There is also a morphologically independent particle which marks case. Case markers are combined with nominals with or without the non-singular suffix and convey various meanings like possession, place, medium, and so on. Allomorphy of case endings depends on whether a noun ends in a vowel, in a consonant, or in a glottal stop. All case markers follow the number marker when the noun is marked by the non-singular marker *-ce*.

With respect to case marking, Chintang is an ergative language. The intransitive participant (S) and the undergoer of a transitive sentence (P) are unmarked. The actor of the transitive clause (A) takes the oblique case suffix *-ŋa*, which serves as an ergative.

- (3.15) a. *mechacha khad-a-ŋs-e*
 woman[NOM] [3sS]go-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘The woman has gone.’
 b. *mechacha-ŋa wa khed-o-ŋs-e*
 woman-ERG chicken [3sA]buy-3P-PERF-PST
 ‘The woman has bought a chicken.’

Chintang has split case marking based on person. Ergative on A is obligatory with 3rd person noun phrases of any kind. It is fairly frequently attested with first and second person plural inclusive forms: first person plural inclusive *ani* [1pi] and second person plural inclusive *hani* [2pi]. It is quite rare with *akka* [1s], *anci* [1di], *hana* [2s] and *hanci* [2d]. But the ergative is ungrammatical with exclusive forms (first person plural and dual exclusive: *anaya* and *ancaya*, respectively). The following examples illustrate the fluid A marking with first person pronouns (3.16).

- (3.16) a. *akka-ŋa cekt-u-ŋ=go ba-i lon-na-ʔ-no*
 1s-ERG speak-3P-1sA=NMLZ₁ DEM.PROX-FLOC appear-NA-COMPL₁-NPST
 ‘My talk appears here (in the recording).’ [khinci_talk.037]
- b. *akka=na u-niŋ nis-u-ku-ŋ-niŋ*
 1s[NOM]=TOP 3sPOSS-name know-3P-NPST-1sA-NEG
 ‘I do not know his name.’ [CLDLCh3R01S03.170]

3rd person arguments (pronouns, NPs) exhibit a nominative-ergative pattern, i.e. A bears the ergative obligatorily while S and objects — goal (G), and theme (T) — bear nominative.

- (3.17) a. *sencak si-e*
 mouse[NOM] [3sS]die-PST
 ‘The mouse died.’
- b. *menuwa-ŋa sencak sed-e*
 cat-ERG mouse[NOM] [3sA]kill-PST
 ‘A cat killed a mouse.’
- c. *hui-sa-ŋa sencak sed-e*
 3s-OBL-ERG mouse[NOM] [3sA]kill-PST
 ‘He killed a mouse.’

In examples (3.17), we can see that the intransitive subject (S) and the transitive object (P) are zero marked. The A of a transitive clause receives ergative marking if it is 3rd person, whether it is a pronoun or a full NP. In languages with person splits 1st and 2nd person pronouns surface with unmarked nominative and 3rd person arguments with marked

ergative when they occur in the A function (Silverstein 1976). This holds partly true for Chintang as well. Because the Chintang split is not based on person only, but also on number and clusivity apparently. All the Chintang case markers are summarized in table 3.2, which also lists the conventional gloss for each morpheme.

Form	Gloss	Function/meaning
-∅	NOM	marks S, A, P, T, G, also predicate nominals
-ŋa ~ -yã	ERG	A (obligatory only with third person),
-ŋa, ~-yã	INSTR	instrument, cause, force
-ko	GEN	possessors, attributive nouns in NPs
-niŋ	COM	accompanying referents
-lam(ma), ~ -lamŋa	MED	route of the movement, from, in
samma/somma (< Nep.)	TERM	‘until, up to’
-patti/-ni	DIR	‘towards, in the direction of’
-ŋa	ABL	source, manner
-peʔ/-beʔ	LOC	‘neutral location of X, on, in, at’
-i (?)	FLOC	‘focused location, on, in, at’
-kha	ALOC	‘areal location, on, in, at’
-ndu	UP	‘up at, in, on, to’
-mu	DOWN	‘down at, in, on, to’
-yu	ACROSS	‘across at, in, on, to’

Table 3.2: Case markers and their functions (Bickel et al. 2010)

3.1.3.1 Nominative

The nominative case is unmarked except for the interrogative pronoun *sa-lo* [who-NOM], where the nominative is marked by *-lo* in the singular (see §3.2.2 below). The subject of an intransitive clause (S), transitive clause (A) (only the 1st and 2nd person), objects (P, T, G), and the experiencer A bear nominative case in Chintang, as shown in (3.18a-d).

- (3.18) a. *joge* *ims-e*
 J.[NOM] [3sS]sleep-PST
 ‘Joge slept.’ [Fieldwork_2008]

- b. *hana* *kok* *a-ci-e*
 2s[NOM] rice[NOM] 2sA-eat-PST
 ‘You ate rice.’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- c. *hui-sa-ŋa* *hana* *chata* *na-bopt-e*
 3s-OBL-ERG 2s[NOM] umbrella[NOM] 3s>2s-cover-PST
 ‘He covered you with an umbrella.’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- d. *akka* *u-phari* *pid-a-hã* *o*
 1s[NOM] 3sPOSS-half[NOM] give-IMP-PRSV.IMP RECONF
 ‘Please, give me a half of that one, okay!’ [Fieldwork_2008]

The nominative will not be glossed in the rest of the thesis except here in order to save space, any bare nominal without a case gloss is in the nominative form.

3.1.3.2 Ergative

As I discussed earlier, the third person subject of a transitive clause irrespective of tense-aspect is obligatorily marked by the ergative case suffix *-ŋa*, but after a glottal stop and a vowel by the allomorph *-yã*. Ergative is also attested with first person and second person plural forms. But it is very rare with first person and second person singular and dual forms, and ungrammatical with first person dual and plural exclusive forms. Both humans and non-humans may take the ergative case in Chintang. The following examples illustrate ergative marking of the transitive subject:

- (3.19) a. *kani-ŋa* *cekt-u-m=go* *jamma* *kob-o-ko*
 1pi-ERG speak-3P-1nsA=NMLZ₁ all [3sA]record-3P-NPST
 ‘It records all what we speak.’ [CLDLCh3R01S04.074a]
- b. *joge-ŋa* *citthi* *hakt-e*
 J.-ERG letter [3sA]send-PST
 ‘Joge sent a letter.’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- c. *barsa-ŋa* *ani* *wa-pok-ma* *mai-lapt-e*
 rain-ERG 1p make.wet-make.wet-INF iP-begin-PST
 ‘The rain started to wet us.’ [Fieldwork_2008]

The nominal marked by the ergative marker *-ŋa* is an A argument of a transitive clause, which function syntactically as a subject, can occur anywhere in a clause. It is not necessary that it always occupies the clause initial position.

3.1.3.3 Instrumental

As in many other Kiranti and non-Kiranti languages of the Himalyan region, the instrumental case is homophonous with the ergative marker *-ŋa* in Chintang.² It marks a tool by which an agent accomplishes an action. A Chintang verb shows agreement with the agent and patient, but it does not agree with an argument marked with the instrumental. In example (3.20a), the verb *ab-* ‘shoot’ agrees with the covert third person agent and the second person patient.

- (3.20) a. *bonduk-ŋa* *na-ab-no* *gonei*
 gun-INSTR 3>2-shoot-NPST ATTN
 ‘Hey, she shoots you with a gun.’ [CLLDCh4R02S02a.017]
- b. *joge-ŋa* *kacce-ŋa* *ghas-a* *hekt-e*
 J.-ERG sickle-INSTR grass-N.NTVZ [3sA]cut-PST
 ‘Joge cut grass with a sickle.’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- c. *sa-ŋa* *lunghek-ŋa* *ruĩ-ma* *na-cind-e*
 who-ERG stone-INSTR clean-INF 3>2-teach-PST
 ‘Who taught you to clean the pot with a stone?’ [CLDLCh3R05S04.209]

3.1.3.4 Genitive

The genitive shows a relationship between a head noun and its dependent in a noun phrase. It is marked by the suffix *-ko*, the same marker as the nominalizer, and occurs with both nouns and pronouns.

- (3.21) *nunu* *hana-ko* *photo* *temma* *lond-e* *aj*
 baby 2s-GEN photo good appear-PST Q
 ‘Baby! Your photograph appeared nice, didn’t it?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.616]

² LaPolla (1994) also points out that in many Tibeto-Burman languages the instrumental and ergative (agentive) markers are homophonous.

The genitive case precedes possessive forms in the following constructions. When there is a genitive suffix *-ko* on the possessor noun, the possessive prefix must agree in number and person with the possessor.

- (3.22) a. *hana-ko* *i-khim*
 2s-GEN 2sPOSS-house
 ‘your house’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- b. *huĩ-sa-ko* *u-khim*
 3s-OBL-GEN 3sPOSS-house
 ‘his house’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- c. *kocuwa-ko* *u-mire*
 dog-GEN 3sPOSS-tail
 ‘dog’s tail’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- d. *ak-ko=yay* *a-yayme=ta=kha=lo*
 1s-GEN=ADD 1sPOSS-nephew/niece=FOC₁=NMLZ₂=SURP
 ‘(He) is also my nephew.’ (Nep. मेरो पनि भतिज नै हो।³) [CLDLCh3R01S02.275]

However, the constructions N-GEN N and N POSS-N are both more frequent than N-GEN POSS-N in day to day speech and in our corpus as well. A nominal form marked by the genitive suffix *-ko* may occur adnominally as the modifier of another noun.

3.1.3.5 Comitative

The comitative case is marked by the suffix *-niŋ*, which denotes companionship or accompaniment. Some examples of comitative case are given in (3.23a-c).

- (3.23) a. *akka* *duda-niŋ* *kok* *ci-e-hẽ*
 1s milk-COM rice eat-PST-1sA.PST
 ‘I ate rice with milk.’ [Fieldwork_2008]

³ In some cases, where the Nepali translation is relevant to the discussion and clarification, I give both English and Nepali translations.

- b. *ram hari-niŋ khoŋ-no*
 R. H.-COM [3sS]play-NPST
 ‘Ram plays with Hari.’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- c. *huŋ=go u-kam-niŋ ti-e*
 DEM=NMLZ₁ 3sPOSS-friend-COM [3sS]come-PST
 ‘He came with his friend.’ [Fieldwork_2008]

The comitative can also mark things one carries, as in (3.24).

- (3.24) *huŋ=go u-tappa-ce-niŋ ti-e*
 DEM=NMLZ₁ 3sPOSS-good-ns-COM [3sS]come-PST
 ‘He came with his goods.’ [Fieldwork_2008]

3.1.3.6 Mediative

The suffix *-lam* is used in a mediative sense to express a movement of something along a path in Chintang. The ablative *-ŋa* is also often attached to *-lam*, and takes the form *-ma*, as shown in (3.25c).

- (3.25) a. *hã jilla-lam pulis-ce u-ti-e*
 FILLER district-MED police-ns 3nsS-come-PST
 ‘The police came via district.’ [chintang_sahid.009]
- b. *dhanakuṭā-lam ti-e*
 Dh.-MED [3sS]come-PST
 ‘He came via Dhanakuṭā.’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- c. *joge kosi-lam-ma ti-e*
 J. river-MED-ABL [3sS]come-PST
 ‘Joge came from river.’ [Fieldwork_2008]

The mediative *-lam* indicates movement ‘away from’ or simply ‘from’, when it is combined with the ablative *-ŋa*.

- (3.26) a. *dhanakuṭā-lam-ma ti-e*
 Dh.-MED-ABL [3sS]come-PST
 ‘He came from Dhanakuṭā.’ [Fieldwork_2008]

- b. *bha-yu-patti-lam-ma-ŋa=na*
 PROX-DEM.ACROSS-DIR₁-MED-ABL=EMPH=TOP
 ‘from this side’ [Fieldwork_2008]

It also expresses the medium of speaking, as in (3.27a,b).

- (3.27) a. *chintaŋ riŋ-lam cekt-e*
 Chintang language-MED [3sS]speak-PST
 ‘S/he spoke in Chintang.’ [Fieldwork_2008]

- b. *ani yiŋ-lam-ma u-nis-o-ko para*
 1pi language-MED-ABL 3nsS-know-3P-NPST COND₂

ani yiŋ-lam-ma=yaŋ cĩ-ma-ce
 1pi language-MED-ABL=ADD teach-INF-3nsP
 ‘If they know it in our language, we should teach them in our language.’
 [Durga_job.026/Fieldwork_2008]

The mediative suffix *-lam* is probably a grammaticalized form of the noun *lambu/lam*, which means ‘road’, ‘path’ or ‘medium’ in Chintang.

3.1.3.7 Terminative

The terminative, marked by the postposition *samma/somma*, expresses the notion of ‘until’ or ‘up to’, specifying a limit in space and time. Though it is borrowed from Nepali, it is quite frequent in Chintang. The original form in Nepali is *samma*.

- (3.28) a. *akka dhanakuṭā samma khai?-ya-ḷā*
 1s Dh. TERM go-1sS-NPST
 ‘I am going up to Dhanakuṭā.’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- b. *hokko-i somma na-rikt-e*
 where-FLOC TERM 3s>2s-chase-PST
 ‘How long did he chase you?’ [CLLDCh4R13S05.563]
- (3.29) a. *akka paĩ somma mund-u-ku-ŋ-niŋ*
 1s today TERM forget-3P-NPST-1sA-NEG
 ‘I haven’t forgotten till now.’ [phengniba_tale008]

- b. *pandra sora gate samma-be u-thapt-o ni*
 fifteen sixteen date TERM-LOC 3nsA-bring.across-3P FOC₂
 ‘They might bring until 15th or 16th of the month.’ [CLLDCh2R12S08.204]

In Chintang, the terminative case is not only used to indicate end-points in space or time but also end-points of an action itself.

- (3.30) *sat-coti somma tis-o-ko hou*
 seven-times TERM [3sA]keep-3P-NPST AFF
 ‘He puts there up to seven times.’ [CLLDCh2R08S04.0850]

3.1.3.8 Directive

The directive markers *-ni* and *-patti* mark direction in Chintang. *-patti* is used with both nouns and deictics, whereas *-ni* is restricted to deictics only.

- (3.31) a. *akka hile-patti khai?-ya-?ã*
 1s hile-DIR₁ go-1sS-NPST
 ‘I am going towards Hile.’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- b. *to-patti a-kha?-no*
 DEM.UP-DIR₁ 2sS-go-NPST
 ‘Do you go up?’ [CLLDCh4R06S05.1073]
- (3.32) a. *ek-dina aphe-ce bhai?-ni u-thab-a-ci-e*
 one-day e.brother-ns DEM.PROX-DIR₂ 3nsS-come.across-PST-COMPL₃-PST
 ‘One day, elder brothers came to us.’ [appa_katha_talk.022]
- b. *to?-ni khad-e*
 DEM.UP-DIR₂ [3sS]go-PST
 ‘He went up.’ [CLLDCh1R01S04.396]

The marker *-patti* is borrowed from Nepali, but it is quite frequent in the Chintang corpus.

3.1.3.9 Ablative

The ablative case *-ŋa* is homophonous with the ergative and the instrumental markers in Chintang. But the ablative *-ŋa* cannot appear without being supported by other case markers.

So, it usually combines with the neutral locative marker *-pe/-be?* to express an ablative meaning like ‘from’ or ‘out of’ somewhere. This is illustrated with the help of following examples:

- (3.33) a. *akka khim-be?-ŋa ti-e-hě*
 1s house-LOC-ABL come-PST-1sS.PST
 ‘I came from home.’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- b. *siŋtaŋ-be?-ŋa u-pha?wa thi-e*
 tree-LOC-ABL 3sPOSS-leaf [3sS]drop.down-PST
 ‘A leaf dropped down from the tree.’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- c. *huŋ=go kheta-bei?-yã/be?-ŋa ti-e*
 DEM=NMLZ₁ field-LOC-ABL [3sS]come-PST
 ‘He came from the field.’ [Fieldwork_2008]

The ablative *-ŋa* is also frequently attached to the temporal ablative suffix *-kheĩ?/-khe?* which itself is a bound morpheme and occurs only together with *-ŋa/-yã*. This is the only nominal suffix which does not appear with spatial deictic roots. Besides *-khe?-ŋa* and *kheĩ?-yã*, we also get the surface form *-khek-ŋa*.

- (3.34) a. *paĩ-kheĩ?-yã lis-e*
 today-TMP.ABL-ABL be-PST
 ‘(The holiday) started from today.’ [Fieldwork_2008]
 ‘It started today.’
- b. *hana bhadau-khe?-ŋa a-khat-no maha?*
 2s a.month-TMP.ABL-ABL 2sS-go-NPST be.not
 ‘You are going after Bhadau, aren’t you?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.530]

The ablative is also used in comparative function with focus locative *i?*, as in the following example:

- (3.35) a. *hani-?-yã the=kha*
 2s-FLOC-ABL big=NMLZ₂
 ‘bigger than you’ [Fieldwork_2008]

- b. *sontosi-ko-yã* *nana=kha*
 S.-GEN-ABL elder.sister=NMLZ₂
 (This baby) is elder than Sontosi's (baby). [CLDLCh2R02S02.018]

3.1.3.10 Locative

There are quite a few locative markers in Chintang. They can appear both alone or in combination with other markers.

The locative marker *-be?*/*-ba(?)* corresponds vaguely to English prepositions *at*, *in*, *on*, *to*, and indicates a place in neutral, that is, it does not specify the level of an object or a point in relation to ground level.

- (3.36) a. *khim-be?* *khad-e=kina* *ti-e*
 house-LOC go-PST=SEQ come-PST
 'He went to the house and came.' [Fieldwork_2008]
- b. *elo* *bari-be?* *ghasa* *a-hek-no*
 or field-LOC grass 2sA-cut-NPST
 'Do you cut grass in the field?' [Fieldwork_2008]

Demonstrative pronouns and the filler particle *meĩ* ('what to call') can also take this neutral locative marker *-be?*.

- (3.37) a. *esari* *samma yo-ba* *mai-li-yokt-a-ŋs-e*
 this.time TERM DEM.ACROSS-LOC NEG-be-NEG-PST-PERF-PST
 'It has not been there yet.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.075]
- b. *u-mma-ŋa* *u-chau* *meĩ-be?* *wand-o-ko*
 3sPOSS-mother-ERG 3sPOSS-child FILLER-LOC swing-3P-NPST
 'The mother swings her baby (in a cradle).' [Fieldwork_2008]

The neutral locative is often combined with other case markers, i.e. with genitive *-ko* and ablative *-ŋa* in Chintang. When it combines with genitives it turns the neutral locative into a modifier. For example, in (3.38), *dhuri-be?-ko* functions as a modifier, which distinguishes the chicken which are on the roof from the others which are not on the roof.

- (3.38) *akka dhuri-beʔ-ko wa-ce or-u-ku-ŋ-cu-ŋ*
 1s roof-LOC-GEN hen-ns hit.by.throwing-3P-NPST-1sA-3nsP-1sA
 ‘I hit the chicken on the roof.’ [Fieldwork_2008]

The variant *-ba(?)* is found with all the spatial forms except with two general-purpose demonstrative roots (Dirksmeyer 2008) *ba* ‘DEM.PROX’ and *huŋ* ‘DEM’.⁴ However, it is possible that the *huŋ* can combine with *-beʔ*, as in (3.40).

- (3.39) a. *akka mo-ba khaiʔ-ya-ʔä*
 1s DEM.DOWN-LOC go-1sS-NPST
 ‘I am going down there.’ [CLLDCh1R03S01.0269]
- b. *a-ttu-ba maŋka maŋka muk-no=ta hou*
 DIST-DEM.UP-LOC little little be.heard-NPST=IPFV₂ AFF
 ‘It (the little bird) is heard (slowly) up there.’ [CLLDCh1R09S07.0615]
- (3.40) *hum-beʔ-yä=na ti-e*
 DEM-LOC-ABL=TOP come-PST
 ‘after that he came’ [Chambak_int.1092]

There is another locative marker *-iʔ*, which I gloss as a focus locative (FLOC) in my thesis. The main function of this locative is to focus on the location of an object. It can only appear after a vowel, as in (3.41). In this case, it might be an allomorph of *-beʔ*.

- (3.41) a. *jaŋgal-a-iʔ manchi=ta hola ghāsa*
 forest-N.NTVZ-FLOC not=FOC₁ probably grass
 ‘There may not be grass in the jungle.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.211]
- b. *lo lo huŋgo-iʔ khel-a numd-a-c-a*
 ok ok DEM-FLOC play-N.NTVZ do-IMP-d-IMP
 ‘Okay, play there.’ [CLLDCh4R03S03.0985]

Like the neutral locative *-beʔ*, *-iʔ* can also combine with the genitive *-ko* and the ergative *-ŋa*. But unlike *-beʔ* (e.g., *khim-beʔ-ko-ce-ŋa*, house-LOC-GEN-ns-ERG ‘the ones who are at

⁴ Unlike the proximate demonstrative *ba*, *huŋ* is semantically distance-neutral (Dirksmeyer 2008).

home' [ref.khinci_talk.089]), *-i?* cannot combine with both of them at a same time (e.g., **jangal-a-i?-ko-ŋa*, jungle-NTVZ-FLOC-GEN-ERG 'the ones from the jungle').

There is yet another location marker in Chintang which is used as an areal locative or *kha*-locative more specifically. But it is not as common as the neutral and focus locatives in the Chintang corpus. It is probably derived from *kham* 'mud', 'soil', 'earth' ~ *kha* 'field'.

- (3.42) a. *mangup-kha* *bha-mu*
garlic-ALOC DEM.PROX-DOWN
'On the garlic field, down here!' [CLLDCh4R11S11.296]
- b. *paĩ=yan* *ba-kha* *ba-kha-be*
today=ADD DEM.PROX-ALOC DEM.PROX-ALOC-LOC
- khola* *khi-ce* *u-lon-no*
river yam-ns 3sS-appear-NPST
'Even today wild yam grows around here.' [phidang_talk.038]

The locative case system in the Kiranti languages, such as in Chintang, is not as simple as in the Indo-Aryan languages of the same region. There are other spatial locatives that are only available for deictics, which indicate the location of an object in terms of its height relative to the speaker, hence the terms have been labeled as "environmental" (Bickel 1994) or "altitudinal" (Ebert 1999). As this is already described in Dirskmeyer (2008), I will not explain the same thing again. I simply list the locative cases here with their basic meaning. The suffix *-ndu* indicates an object at a higher altitude than the speaker; *mu* indicates an object at a lower altitude; and *yo/yu* indicates an object at the same level.

- ndu* 'UP: at, on, in, to'
-mu 'DOWN: at, on, in, to'
-yu 'ACROSS: at, on in, to'

- (3.43) a. *bha-ndu-patti* *kaŋ-a*
DEM-UP-DIR come-IMP
'come here (up)'

and addressee)', and 'we (speaker and other party, excluding the addressee)'. Inclusive forms include the addressee (that is, one of the words for 'we' means 'you' and 'I'), while exclusive 'we' exclude the addressee (that is another word for 'we' means 'S/he and 'I', but not 'you'). The language also shows a three-way number distinction viz. singular, dual and plural in first and second person pronouns. Pronominals make no sex distinctions in Chintang. Some speakers use Chintang dual forms with Nepali expressions as well, e.g. *hunce hiyo ga-e?*, 3ns yesterday go-PST.p, 'Did they go yesterday?'

Table 3.3 shows the pronominal system in Chintang including the corresponding possessive prefixes, which attach to the possessed noun.

	s	di	de	pe	pi
1st Person	<i>akka</i>	<i>anci</i>	<i>ancaŋa</i>	<i>anaŋa</i>	<i>ani</i>
	<i>a-</i>	<i>anci-</i>	<i>anca-</i>	<i>ana-</i>	<i>ani-</i>
2nd Person	<i>hana</i>	<i>hanci</i>			<i>hani</i>
	<i>i-</i>	<i>hanci-</i>			<i>hani-</i>
3rd Person	<i>huŋ=go</i>	<i>hunce</i>			<i>hunce</i>
	<i>u-</i>	<i>hunci-</i>			<i>huni-</i>

Table 3.3: Personal pronouns and possessive prefixes in Chintang

Syntactically, pronouns do not occur with demonstratives and adjectives as nouns do. They, however, function as arguments, and complements of verbs, just like nouns. However, unlike in English, where personal pronouns are used obligatorily, in Chintang pronouns are always optional, and need not be overtly expressed (see Stoll et al. 2012).

3.2.1.1 First person pronouns

There are five first person pronouns in Chintang — first person singular *akka*, first person dual exclusive *ancaŋa*, first person dual inclusive *anci*, first person plural inclusive *ani* and first person plural exclusive *anaŋa*. Dual is marked by *-ci* and plural is marked by *-i*. Chintang distinguishes inclusive and exclusive in first person dual and plural pronouns. Some examples of first person pronouns and their use is given in (3.45a-e).

- (3.45) a. *akka kok ca-ŋa-ʔã*
 1s rice eat-1s-NPST
 ‘I eat rice.’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- b. *anci kok ca-ce-ke*
 1d rice eat-d-NPST
 ‘We (you + me) eat rice.’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- c. *ancaŋa kok ca-ce-ke-ŋa*
 1de rice eat-d-NPST-e
 ‘We two (she + me) eat rice.’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- d. *anaŋa kok ca-i-k-i-ŋa*
 1pe rice eat-p-NPST-p-e
 ‘We (they + me) eat rice.’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- e. *ani kok ca-i-k-i*
 1pi rice eat-p-NPST-p
 ‘We (you all + me) eat rice.’ [Fieldwork_2008]

One further complication with i(nclusive)/e(xclusive) is that i-forms are also used when it is completely clear that somebody is excluded but there is no need to emphasize it typically because everybody knows it anyway. For instance, consider the example, *ani-riŋ* ‘Our language’. We never heard **ana-riŋ*, though it is clearly their language. *kanci*, *kancaŋa*, *kanana* and *kani* are alternative forms for the first person dual inclusive, first person dual exclusive, first person plural exclusive and first person plural inclusive forms, respectively, and are mostly found in the Mulgāũ dialect of Chintang.

3.2.1.2 Second person pronouns

There are three-second person pronouns, singular, dual, and plural. All the second person pronouns are exemplified with the following examples:

- (3.46) a. *hana bajar a-khaʔ-no*
 2s market 2sS-go-NPST
 ‘You go to the market.’ [Fieldwork_2008]

- b. *hanci* *bajar* *a-khac-ce-ke*
 2d market 2nsS-go-d-NPST
 ‘You (d) go to the market.’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- c. *hani* *bajar* *a-khad-i-k-i*
 2p market 2nsS-go-p-NPST-p
 ‘You (p) go to the market.’ [Fieldwork_2008]

3.2.1.3 Third person pronouns

Unlike the first and second person pronouns, the third person pronoun does not distinguish between dual and plural in Chintang. The form of the verb resolves the ambiguity. The followings are some examples of third person pronouns:

- (3.47) a. *hui-sa-ŋa* *pheŋs-o-ko*
 DEM-OBL-ERG [3sA]plough-3P-NPST
 ‘He ploughs (the field).’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- b. *hun-ce-ŋa* *u-pheŋs-ce-ke*
 DEM-ns-ERG 3nsA-plough-d-NPST
 ‘They (two) plough.’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- c. *hun-ce-ŋa* *u-pheŋs-o-ko*
 DEM-ns-ERG 3nsA-plough-3P-NPST
 ‘They plough.’ [Fieldwork_2008]

The third person pronoun in Chintang also works as a demonstrative pronoun. As it has only one number distinction (non-singular vs. singular), it might be the case that it is derived from the demonstrative pronoun. Moreover, there is no human/non-human distinctions. Furthermore, formally, the third person pronoun *huŋ* behaves like any other deictic including the absence of dual/plural distinction and the addition of the oblique *-sa* before the ergative case *-ŋa*, for example, *hui-sa-ŋa* [3s-OBL-ERG].

3.2.2 Interrogative pronouns

Chintang has eight interrogative pronouns. Table 3.4 lists all of them with the corresponding meanings. The most interesting ones are illustrated with relevant examples in this section.

pronoun	gloss
<i>sa-lo</i>	‘who/whom’
<i>sa-k-ko/sa-iʔ-ko</i>	‘whose’
<i>asuk</i>	‘how much/ how many’
<i>them</i>	‘what’
<i>aŋ</i>	‘what’
<i>theke</i>	‘why’
<i>hokko</i>	‘which’
<i>hokkoi/hokke</i>	‘where’

Table 3.4: Interrogative pronouns

salo ‘who/whom’

This is the only form which takes the marked nominative in Chintang. This is the function of *-lo*. All nominal suffixes, i.e. non-singular marker *-ce* and case markers can be attached to the stem *sa-*, as shown in examples (3.48) and (3.49).

- (3.48) a. *sa-lo=kha=lo* *ni*
 who-NOM=NMLZ₂=SURP FOC₂
 ‘Who is she?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.682]
- b. *kina* *sa-niŋ* *a-thap-ce-ke*
 SEQ who-COM 2sS-come.level-d-NPST
 ‘... and whom do you come with?’ [CLDLCh3R05S04.039]
- (3.49) *sa-sa-lo* *u-khad-e*
 who-REDUP-NOM 3nsS-go-PST
 ‘Who went away?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.082]

In example (3.49), the second *-sa* is homophonous with the oblique marker *-sa*, but it is not identical, because the nominative marker *-lo* does not allow the oblique form (cf. 3.48a). It is possible to reduplicate all interrogative pronouns in order to express that you are asking for each relevant item, but *sa-sa* ‘who-REDUP’ and *them-them* ‘what-REDUP’ are most usual.

them ‘What’

It is similar to English ‘what’, but it has got more functions in Chintang. Like *salo*, it can also take all the nominal suffixes and possessive prefixes (3.53b). It is also found with the purposive marker (3.53c). But unlike *salo*, it is used with inanimate forms.

- (3.53) a. *kina them a-ci-e*
 SEQ what 2sA-eat-PST
 ‘And what did you eat?’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- b. *u-them*
 3sPOSS-what
 ‘his what?’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- c. *them-si sanbhoyteĩ khad-a-ŋs-e*
 what-PURP Sambugāũ.village [3sS]go-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘Why has he gone to Sambugāũ?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.503]

The pronoun *them* also works as a focus or an emphasis marker in discourse. On the basis of our corpus, we can say that it is very frequent in the Sambugāũ dialect.

- (3.54) *ba=go janak them*
 DEM.PROX=NMLZ₁ J. what
 ‘This is Janak.’ [Fieldwork_2008]

aŋ ‘what’

Aŋ is similar to *them* ‘what’ in use, but unlike *them*, it cannot take case suffixes. It occurs both before and after predicates.

- (3.55) a. *aŋ li-no=kha*
 Q be-NPST=NMLZ₂
 ‘What happens to her?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.092]
- b. *aŋ cek-no kanchi*
 Q speak-NPST youngest.one.F
 ‘What does kanchi say?’ [CLDLCh3R01S02.099]

Generally, *aŋ* occurs at the end of the sentence when a speaker wants to confirm his or her idea to the hearer. The examples in (3.56a-c) illustrate this.

- (3.56) a. *paĩ cha gate aŋ*
today six date Q
‘Today it’s sixth, isn’t it?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.013]
- b. *hani-bakhra=yaŋ si-a-d-e aŋ*
2pPOSS-goat=ADD die-PST-COMPL₁-PST Q
‘Your goat also died, didn’t it?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.250]
- c. *lug-e cuwa aŋ pheri*
spill-PST water what again
‘The water is spilled again, huh!’ [CLLDCh1R03S01.0690]

***theke* ‘why’**

This pronoun is used to ask for a reason why something has happened. The most preferable position of *theke* in a clause is either the clause initial position or the position just before the verb. We have no example where it appears after the verb.

- (3.57) a. *theke a-sad-o-ko=na=haŋ*
why 2sA-pull-3P-NPST=FOC=COND₁
‘Why do you pull it?’ [CLDLCh3R05S03.046]
- b. *hana theke mai-a-khat-t-e*
2s why NEG-2sS-go-NEG-PST
‘Why didn’t you go to school?’ [CLLDCh1R13S02.1227]
- c. *saŋbhoŋteĩ theke khad-a-ŋs-e*
Sambugaũ.village why go-PST-PERF-PST
‘Why has he gone to Sambugaũ?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.499]

As most of the interrogative pronouns begin with the vowel /a/, historically there probably was a prefix *a-* for question words: *a-* [Q]. cf. *a-nam* ‘Q-?’, *a-niŋ* ‘Q-COM’, *a-tta* ‘Q-EXT’, and *a-suk* ‘Q-?’.

3.3 Possessive agreement

Possession in Chintang is marked by possessive prefixes. Like in other Tibeto-Burman languages, possessive affixes are distinct from free pronouns in Chintang. These types of special and distinct prefixes exist for both singular and plural possessors of all persons: singular *a-* ‘my’, *i-* ‘your’ and *u-* ‘his/her’, for first, second, and third person respectively, and *ana-* ‘we’, *anca-* ‘we’, *hunci-* ‘their’ *huni-* ‘their’ for some selected duals and plural forms (see Table 3.3). The only cases where a full pronoun works as a possessive prefix are *ani*, *anci*, *hani*, and *hanci*. The examples in (3.58) illustrate possessive marking with singular possessors.

- (3.58) a. *a-khim* ‘my house’
 b. *i-khim* ‘your house’
 c. *u-khim* ‘his/her house’

Moreover, the speakers also express possession with double-marked forms where the head is marked with a possessive prefix and the dependent with the genitive case. In examples (3.59), a genitive marker is suffixed to the possessor-pronoun and an agreement suffix is found on the head noun *khim* ‘house’.

- (3.59) a. *ak-ko* *a-khim*
 1s-GEN 1sPOSS-house
 ‘my house’ [Fieldwork_2008]
 b. *hana-ko* *i-khim*
 2s-GEN 2sPOSS-house
 ‘your house’ [Fieldwork_2008]
 c. *hui-sa-kko* *u-khim*
 3s-OBL-GEN 3sPOSS-house
 ‘his house’ [Fieldwork_2010]

The dual and plural pronouns are simply prefixed to the noun they modify, as in (3.60). Double marked possessive forms for dual and plural are extremely rare. There are only two examples in our corpus where the first person plural pronoun is marked with genitive and the head noun is also marked with the first person plural possessive, as shown in (3.61).

- (3.60) a. *anci-phakce* 'our pigs'
 b. *ani-rɨŋ* 'our language'
 c. *hanci-khimce* 'your (d) houses'
 d. *hani-chace* 'your children'

- (3.61) *ani-ko* *ani-rɨŋ*
 1p-GEN 1pPOSS-language
 'our language'

[CLLDCh2R07S01. 1928]

Otherwise, both double marked and head marked possessive constructions are found in the Chintang corpus.

3.3.1 Obligatory possessive inflection

In Chintang and in a number of other Kiranti languages, a few nouns require possessive inflection obligatorily. These include some kinship relations (as in *my brother*). For example, the nouns in (3.62a-c) cannot occur in isolation and always require possessive inflection. These nouns are often called 'bound nouns' or more precisely 'obligatorily possessed nouns' (Bickel & Nichols 2011).

- (3.62) a. *a-ppa* 'my father'
 b. *i-phuwa* 'your brother'
 c. *u-nna* 'his/her sister'

This type of possessive inflection is often described as inalienable possession in the literature. In Chintang only very few nouns require obligatory possession. They include some kinship terms and some human emotions (e.g., anger, fear), as shown in (3.63a-c).

- (3.63) a. *kok* *ca-no=ko=ta* *a-rei?ma* *katt-o-ko*
 rice eat-NPST=NMLZ₁=FOC₁ 1sPOSS-laughter bring.up-3P-NPST
 'Her way of eating rice makes me laugh.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.182]
- b. *thit-ta-nɨŋ* *u-rek* *kai?* *pacche*
 one-CLF-COM 3sPOSS-anger come.up SEQ
 'When she gets angry with someone,' [CLDLCh2R02S02.540]

- | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------------|
| c. | <i>i-kipma</i> | <i>kaiʔ-ma</i> | <i>pukt-e</i> | <i>abo</i> |
| | 2sPOSS-fear | come.up-INF | start-PST | now |
| | 'You started to be afraid now.' | | | [CLDLCh3R01S04.017] |

Some adverbials of time also take the third person possessive prefix obligatorily, as shown in the following examples:

- (3.64) a. *u-bheni* 'morning'
 b. *u-lendu* 'day time'
 c. *u-namtha* 'evening'

Not only humans, but also non-human objects can require the obligatory third person possessive prefix when it is needed to express a kind of internal relation with the object.

- (3.65) a. *u-maŋ* 'raw' (literally "its rawness")
 b. *a-/i-/u-tapparaŋ* 'alone'

3.4 Derivation and compounding

Derivational morphology is not very productive in Chintang. There are very few derivational processes by which nouns can be converted to other word classes. Like in other Kiranti languages, most derivational processes simply create another noun. Two nouns are juxtaposed to form a noun compound. There is no significant change in the phonology and morphology in compounding. Noun compounding is one of the most productive phenomena of word formation in Chintang.

In our data, the number of compounds is high, whereas there is no regular, productive derivational process. All the examples illustrated in this section (3.66 to 3.80) were collected during my fieldwork in 2008 and 2010.

3.4.1 Modifier-head compounding

This is the most common type of compounding found in a number of Kiranti languages including Chintang. In this type, the right hand member is the most important part which usually determines the properties of the compound as a whole. The following examples illustrate modifier-head compounding:

- (3.66) a. *phak-sa*
pig-meat
'pork'
- b. *phak-cam*
pig-food'
'pig's food'
- c. *mi-caŋkorok*
fire-coal
'coal'
- d. *cuwa-kham*
water-mud/earth
'water spring'

Some nominal elements are more productive and regular in the formation of compounds than others. For example, *wa* 'chicken' or 'bird':

- (3.67) a. *wa-thĩ*
chicken-egg
'egg'
- b. *wa-sa*
chicken-meat
'chicken meat'
- c. *wa-lap*
chicken-feather
'chicken feather'

3.4.2 Fossilized compounds

There are some compounds which probably historically consisted of two independent nouns, but where one constituent cannot appear on its own any longer, so that the structure has now become opaque:

- (3.68) a. *wa-simba*
 chicken-flea
 ‘chicken flea’
- b. *taŋ-phuwa*
 head-hair
 ‘hair’
- c. *taŋ-khorok*
 head-?
 ‘skull’

In the above examples, the second part cannot stand alone.

3.4.3 Tri-nominal compounds

Tri-nominal compounding is quite common in ritual texts. There are very few examples of this type in everyday speech, as shown in (3.69)

- (3.69) a. *na-khi-wa*
 nose-dust-water
 ‘nasal discharge’
- b. *mik-khi-wa*
 eye-dust-water
 ‘dust of the eye’

Examples like the ones in (3.70a-c) are only found in the ritual variety of the Chintang language.

- (3.70) a. *ci-khim-ma*
 deity-house-F
 ‘house deity’
- b. *kham-bop-mi* (*<bopma, bopt-* ‘to cover’)
 earth-cover-F
 ‘covering the earth’

- c. *maŋ-bop-mi*
 god-cover-F
 ‘protective god or the god which protects us from everything.’

There is also a number of binomial compounds that are found only in the ritual variety of the language. Binomials typically consist of two or three syllabic limbs where the last syllable of each limb is identical (for detail, see Gaenszle et al. 2005). For example, *tuplachonj berichonj* ‘tip of the banana leaf’.

3.4.4 Metaphorical compounds

Apart from these true compounds, there are some metaphorical compounds in Chintang, where we cannot predict the meaning of the whole from its constituent elements. Thus in (3.71) something that looks like a duck’s leg, is ‘fern’.

- (3.71) *bheʔwa-laŋ*
 duck-leg
 ‘fern, a kind of green vegetable’

This type of compounding is non-productive in Chintang, and is treated as a single lexical item in this work.

3.4.5 Nouns derived from verbs

Nominalization from other word classes is a common process in Chintang, especially the nominalization of verbs. There are two basic nominalizers, an agent nominalizer and a locative nominalizer.

Agent nominalizations are marked by the prefix *ka-* and the suffix *-pa*, where *ka-* is an active participle and *-pa* is a nominalizer found commonly throughout Kiranti languages. Moreover, the *-pa* can be replaced by *-ma* in order to emphasize that the referent is female.

- (3.72) a. *ka-cek-pa* ‘a speaker’ < *cekt-* ‘to speak’
 b. *ka-khui-pa* ‘a thief’ < *khutt-* ‘to steal’

In addition to that, the infinitive form of a verb without an object may function as a noun, as in (3.73):

- (3.73) a. *ca-ma-ce*
eat-INF-ns 'foodstuffs'
- b. *ca-ma thoka-ce*
eat-INF thing-ns 'foodstuffs'
- c. *thuŋ-ma*
drink-INF 'drinks'

3.4.6 Nouns with *-si*, *-wa* *-mi*, *-bi/-bu*

There are some morphemes which frequently appear with nouns and categorize the nouns in terms of some semantic groups. Some of the most frequent include the following:

-si

The nouns in this group are characterized by the suffix *-si*. Many of the nouns in this class signify fruits, herbs, and useful trees. Now these nouns cannot appear in isolation without *-si*. Examples are given in (3.74a-d):

- (3.74) a. *phana-si* 'jackfruit'
b. *lukku-si* 'a kind of fruit'
c. *billim-si* 'a kind of herb used as a spice'⁶
d. *bhusup-si* 'fodder tree used as a grass for animals'

-wa

Nouns in this group are identified by the suffix *-wa*, and they mostly include flying animals like birds and flying objects.⁷ The following are some examples:

⁶ Nepali सिल्टिमुर

⁷ 'wa' also means water in a number of Kiranti languages including Chintang. But the synchronic meaning of *wa* is not 'water', but 'juice' or 'broth'. It is quite productive in Bantwa as well.

- (3.75) a. *ko?wa* (~ *kok uwa*)
rice.water (~ rice 3sPoss-water)
'specified amount of water for rice'
- b. *ba?wa*
'broth'

- (3.76) a. *bakheĩ-wa* 'wild hen'
 b. *bheʔ-wa* 'duck'
 c. *bhe-wa* 'flying insect'
 d. *gaʔ-wa* 'crow'

-bi/-bu

Nouns in this group are usually marked by the suffix *-bi/bu*, and they commonly denote big trees, as shown in (3.77a-e).

- (3.77) a. *aŋ-bu* 'pine tree'
 b. *chekrum-bi* 'a kind of tree' (Nep. खरिको रुख)
 c. *cipci-bu* 'a kind of tree: *Alnus.nepalensis*'
 d. *conru-bu* 'a kind of tree' (Nep. फलेदो)
 e. *paptu-bu* 'a kind of tree' (Nep. बरको रुख)

-ule

Furthermore, the nominal suffix *-ule* derives nouns from nouns or verbs. The referent of the resulting noun is S/A argument of the underlying verb or the process associated with the underlying noun. The connotation is usually negative.

- (3.78) a. *nap* 'snot' > *napule* 'snotty nose'
 b. *hap* 'cry' > *habule/hapule* 'crying baby'
 c. *chep* 'pee' > *chepule* 'child who cannot hold his/her urine'

Moreover, there are quite a few lexical compounds whose components cannot be morphologically analyzed at this time. These nouns mostly end with *-wa*, *-luŋ*, *-haŋ*, and *-mi*. Some examples are given below:

- (3.79) a. *cu-wa* 'water'
 b. *le-wa* 'mud'
 c. *daha-luŋ* 'pond'
 d. *wadhaj-mi* 'dance and worshipping festival of Chintang Rai people'

Chintang classifiers can be used without a head noun. The numeral classifier is basically used for human arguments without a head noun (3.81a), and it can host the ergative case (3.81b). Similarly, it can also host particles (3.81c). The human classifier is repeated when there is reduplication or repetition of a numeral in the same clause, as in (3.81d).

- (3.81) a. *sum-baŋ=ta* *u-ta-no*
 three-HUM.CLF =FOC₁ 3nsS-come-NPST
 ‘Will the three of them come?’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- b. *thik-paŋ-ŋa* *tad-u-m=go* *ghāsa-ŋa=na* *them*
 one-HUM.CLF-ERG bring-3P-1sA=NMLZ₁ grass-INSTR=TOP what
 ‘the grass which is brought by one person (me)’ [CLDLCh3R01S03.611]
- c. *hanci* *hicci-baŋ=ta* *a-tad-a-ci-a-c-e*
 2d two-HUM.CLF=FOC₁ 2nsA-bring-PST-COMPL₃-PST-d-PST
 ‘Did you (two) bring (the grass)?’ [CLLDCh1R03S01.0382]
- d. *hicci-baŋ* *hicci-baŋ* *seubi* *u-tec-ce-ke* *elo*
 two-HUM.CLF two-HUM.CLF seed 3nsA-sow-d-NPST or
 ‘Two persons sow the seed, don't they?’ [CLLDCh4R11S07.320]

The classifier *-paŋ*, *-baŋ* and *-bhaŋ* is strictly restricted to humans; it becomes ungrammatical when it is used with non-human referents. Consider the following example:

- (3.82) **hicci-baŋ* *menuma-ce*
 two-HUM.CLF cat-ns
 ‘two cats’ [Fieldwork_2008]

As there are no native numerals higher than three in Chintang, the numbers higher than three are borrowed from Nepali when necessary. Borrowed Nepali numerals take classifiers from Nepali. This is illustrated in (3.83a,b).

- (3.83) a. *sum-bhaŋ car-jana⁸ yo-ba u-yak-no*
 three-HUM.CLF four-CLF DEM.ACROSS-LOC 3nsS-spend.night-NPST
 ‘Three or four people will sleep there.’ [CLLDCh2R04S04.0015]
- b. *kanaja car-jana huĩ hicci-baŋ*
 1pe four-CLF DEM two-HUM.CLF
 ‘we four and two of them’ [tangkera_04.400]

As the so-called human classifier *-paŋ/-baŋ/-bhaŋ* occurs with some nouns without being modified by a numeral, it probably has an etymology ‘person, man’ in old Chintang. This may be the reason that it is still found in few nouns like *wanca-baŋ* ‘young man’, *pani-waŋ* ‘Nepali, bahun/chettri’⁹, *teĩ-paŋ* ‘village people or villagers’, etc.

3.5.2 Default classifier *-ta*

The classifier *-ta* can be analyzed as a default or generic numeral classifier which mainly appears with counted animals and things from one to three in Chintang.

- (3.84) a. *thit-ta khim*
 one-CLF house
 ‘one house’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- b. *hicce-ta yuŋs-u-c-a*
 two-CLF keep-3P-d-IMP
 ‘Please, keep both!’ [ctn_spa_11.409]

On the basis of the Chintang corpus, the classifier *-ta* mostly appears with non-human nouns, however, it is not fully restricted to this class. There are some examples in our corpus, where *-ta* appears with human nouns when they denote generic nouns, as shown in (3.85a,b).

⁸ *-jana* (Nep. *janā* -जना) is a Nepali classifier which occurs to classify [+human] count nouns. When the speakers of Chintang borrow higher numbers from Nepali (e.g. four, five and so on), they choose Nepali classifiers.

⁹ Bahun (also Brahman) (Nepali बाहुन) and chettri (also Kshetri) (Nepali छेत्री/क्षेत्री) are the speakers of Nepali, the national language, and are part of the dominant Khas culture.

- (3.85) a. *thit-ta* *cha*
 one-CLF child
 ‘a child’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- b. *thit-ta* *maʔmi wa-ce-niŋ*
 one-CLF person chicken-ns-COM
 ‘A person (must stay) with the chickens.’ [CLLDCh1R01S04.099]

Chintang numerals are bound morphemes themselves; they never occur without a suffix. *hicce* and *sumce* have these forms when they appear as cardinal numbers, but when a numerical classifier is suffixed, they take the forms *hicci* and *sumci* (**sumce-baŋ*). This is valid for all kinds of numerical classifiers.

basic	with suffix
1 <i>thita</i>	
2 <i>hicce</i>	<i>hicci</i>
3 <i>sumce</i>	<i>sum(ci)</i>

Table 3.5: Chintang numerals

In our corpus, *hiccibaŋ* is the most frequent suffixed form. The basic forms can also be used as adverbials, e.g. *thik-paŋ=ta a-ti-e?* [one-HUM.CLF=FOC₁ 2s-come-PST] ‘Did you come alone?’

Always obligatory in a context
Human vs non-human distinction
Generic vs specific form
Require number agreement (unusual feature)

Table 3.6: Properties of numeral classifiers in Chintang

3.6 Adjectives

Chintang has only a small set of adjectives. The lack of “real” adjectives is compensated by the use of verbs, mainly intransitive verbs. In terms of Dixon’s adjective typology (2004), Kiranti languages are verbal languages. This is partly true in the case of Chintang. There are very few

proper adjectives which are not derived from verbs. Chintang adjectives are different from adjectives found in other languages, for example, Nepali. This is because Chintang adjectives are bound morphemes which are needed to be nominalized, using either *=go* or *=kha*, before they are used as adnominal modifiers. The difference between the *=go* and the *=kha* nominalizers is that *=kha* is used to modify a referent which is not specified while the *=go* is used with the specific referents. Both of them can modify either an overt referent (NP) or a zero form.

- (3.86) a. *mi=kha* vs. *mi=go*
small=NMLZ₂ small=NMLZ₁
 ‘something small’ ‘a certain/the small one’
[Fieldwork 2010]
- b. *mi=kha* *khim* vs. *mi=go* *khim*
small=NMLZ₂ house small=NMLZ₁ house
 ‘small house’ ‘a certain/the small house’
[Fieldwork 2010]
- c. *the=go* *doku-be* *boms-a*
big=NMLZ₁ bamboo.basket-LOC over.turn-ed-IMP
 ‘Please overturn (it) in the big basket.’ [CLLDCh1R02S04.0753]

In Chintang, adjectives precede the noun they belong to and can be modified by the preceding adverbs.

3.6.1 Descriptive adjectives

There are extremely few descriptive adjectives in Chintang. In this list (3.87), only *mi-* ‘small’ and *the-* ‘big’ are the genuine Chintang adjectives.

- (3.87) a. *mi=kha* ‘something small’
 b. *the=kha* ‘something big’

- c. *temma*¹⁰ 'good', 'nice'

Chintang has four native lexemes to express color. The term *halachop* is used to denote red, which may be derived from *hali*, ‘blood’. But the origin of all other forms is still unclear. The color words generally combine with the sex markers *-pa* and *-ma* to distinguish the biological gender of the referents. Plurality is shown with the same suffix *-ce*. According to our data, these color adjectives appear with both human and non-human nouns.

- (3.88) a. *makacik* 'black'
b. *bithiri* 'white'
c. *halachop* 'red'

All native colour terms have the same morphology in Chintang. They have basic forms with *-ma* and *-pa* and a form where the last syllable is usually reduplicated, e.g. *makacikcik*, *bithiriri*, *halachopchop* and *hardibunbun* to intensify the meaning. These forms also appear as adverbials.

3.6.2 Quantity adjectives

Adjectives showing the quantity of nouns or pronouns are called adjectives of quantity. There are very few quantity adjectives in Chintang.

- (3.89) a. *baddhe* 'many', 'much'
 b. *mi?mun* 'a little', 'few'
 c. *asuk* 'how much'

3.6.3 Borrowed adjectives

Chintang also borrows a number of adjectives from the eastern dialect of Nepali. The list in (3.91a-e) includes some of the most frequent ones in the Chintang corpus.

¹⁰ <temma> is also used as an adverb, as exemplified in the following example:

(3.90) *aha* *asuk* *temma* *nam-no* *hou*
EXCLA.interj how.much well [3sS]smell-NPST AFF
'How nicely it smells! [CLDLCh2R02S02.659]

- (3.91) a. *apamme* 'big'
 b. *bhukule* 'round'
 c. *chusi* 'naughty'
 d. *kokdhe* 'curved, bent'
 e. *chonthe* 'fancy'
 f. *hardi*¹¹ *buybuy* 'yellow'

3.7 Diminutive

Like other Kiranti languages, Chintang also employs diminutive suffixes in nouns. But unlike the diminutives in Kulung (Tolsma 2006) and Dumi (Driem 1993), in Chintang the diminutive -*cilek* is only weakly productive. According to Tolsma, the diminutive suffix -*cha* of Kulung is used with adjectives, nouns and with some adverbs as well. In Chintang, however, it is restricted to few nouns denoting animals.

- (3.92) a. *wa-cilek* 'chicken' [Fieldwork_2008]
 chicken-DIM
 b. *phak-cilek* 'piglet' [Fieldwork_2010]
 pig-DIM

In the examples above, *wacilek* and *phakcilek* denote both one or many chickens and pigs. But if speakers want to focus on the number; they do use -*ce*, the non-singular marker. This is illustrated in (3.93).

- (3.93) *yo* *wa-cilek-ce* *rikt-i-c-a*
 DEM.ACROSS chicken-DIM-ns chase-3P-ns-IMP
 'Chase those chickens.' [CLLDCh1R02S04.1098]

Besides nouns denoting animals, the diminutive particle is also found with sprouts of small plants which are usually eaten as a vegetable in the village.

¹¹ *hardi* (Nepali: हर्दी) also called *haldi* (हल्दी) is a kind of yellow-turmeric which is commonly used as a spice in Nepal.

- (3.94) *sa-cilek-ko* *u-conj*
 nettle-DIM-GEN 3sPOSS-sprout
 ‘the sprout of a small nettle’ [choku_yakkheng.09]

Like in many other Kiranti languages, a small number of Chintang nouns also take *-cha* as a diminutive suffix, where it functions as a compound and cannot indicate its original meaning ‘child’.

- (3.95) a. *doku-cha*
basket-DIM
‘small basket’ [CLLDCh1R02S04.0962]
- b. *siŋtaŋ-cha*
tree-DIM
‘small tree’ [Fieldwork_2010]

Morphologically, the diminutive particle is always a bound morpheme and it occurs as a suffix in the majority of the Kiranti languages including Chintang. However, in the Western Kiranti languages, such as Kõits (Sunwar) and Bayung, it occurs as a prefix. This is illustrated with an example from Kõits in (3.96).

- (3.96) *cə-po*
 DIM-phak [Lal B. Rapacha p.c.]
 ‘a piglet’

The diminutive particle *-cilek* is probably etymologically related to the noun *cile?wa* ‘small’ (Schikowski 2011).

3.8 Summary

Chintang is a morphologically quite rich language. In this chapter, I dealt with the nominal morphology in Chintang. In the beginning, I described the noun morphology in which I have described about nominal categories, such as number and case. There is no gender in the Kiranti languages, which holds for Chintang too. However, Chintang marks natural gender in kinship terms and in some animal names. Moreover, like other Kiranti languages, Chintang also employs the morphemes *-pa/-ma*, which indicate male and female beings respectively.

Number is a grammatical category in Chintang. The Chintang language distinguishes three categories of number, viz. singular, dual and plural. However, the distinction between dual and plural is observed in personal pronouns and verb forms only. Nouns and third person pronouns do not distinguish between dual and plural. Chintang behaves ergatively with respect to case marking. It has split case marking based on person. Ergative case on A is obligatory for only 3rd person noun phrases of any kind. It is optional for first person and second person plural inclusive pronouns, and extremely rare on first person singular, dual inclusive and second person singular and dual pronouns. A nominal form can be inflected for a number of other cases in Chintang.

Personal pronouns are usually marked for number and person. Like in other Kiranti languages, there are three persons, first, second and third person in Chintang. Exclusiveness and inclusiveness is distinguished in the 1st person pronouns. The third person pronoun also works as a demonstrative pronoun.

Chintang marks possession by possessive prefixes. All singular and some plural possessors employ distinct prefixes. But some dual and plural forms use the full pronoun to show possession. Like in a number of other Kiranti languages, some nouns, for example, kin relations and body parts, are obligatorily possessed.

Derivational morphology is not very productive. There are mainly two derivational processes: compounding and nominalization. Noun compounding is one of the most productive phenomena of word formation in Chintang. However, there are no morphological and phonological changes in the forms. Most of the time two nouns are simply juxtaposed to create another noun. Nominalization from other word classes is a common process, mainly the nominalization of verbs.

Chintang has only two native numeral classifiers. They are bound morphemes which are suffixed to numerals. Similarly, there are very few true adjectives in Chintang. However, intransitive verbs fulfill the role of adjectives in most of the cases. Chintang employs diminutive suffixes in nouns, but it is not very productive.

Chapter 4

Verbal Morphology

4.0 Introduction

Like in many other Kiranti languages of Eastern Nepal, the verbal morphology is considerably more complex than the nominal morphology in Chintang. In comparison with most European languages, Chintang displays an enriched morphological system which is remarkably complex. The Chintang verb inflects for tense, aspect, polarity, and mood, and agrees in various alignment patterns with the single argument of intransitive verbs S and with both the A and P arguments of transitive verbs. This chapter deals with the morphological aspects of verbs, with particular attention on verb stems, verbal and reflexive paradigms, verbal affixes and negation marking on verbs. It also deals with Tense, Aspect, Mood, and Non-finite verb forms in §4.6 and §4.8 respectively.

4.1 Verb stems

The majority of Chintang verbs has a monosyllabic root, although some polysyllabic roots are also attested. The typical syllable structure of the roots is CV(C) when they appear without the possible augments *-t*, and *-s*. In these two augments, *-t* is described as a Proto-Tibeto-Burman **-t*, which is usually reconstructed as a “directive” or applicative marker, and *-s* is described as a reflex of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman causative augment **-s* (Wolfenden 1929, Michailovsky 1985, Driem 1993, Bickel et al. 2010). There is a large number of verb-stems with augments in Chintang, for example, *lut-t* ‘press down’, *lu-t* ‘tell someone’, *lu-s* ‘tell’ (antipassive). The verb stem (Σ) in Chintang has a recursive structure: [Σ' [Σ ROOT -

AUGMENT]⁺] (Bickel et al. *ibid*). There are also few polysyllabic bipartite verbs which contain a preverbal element and a verb. With those verbs only the rightmost syllable behaves like a regular stem consisting of a root and an augment. For example, in the bipartite verb *khasiŋs*- ‘ask’, only the second part of the verb *siŋ-s*, is the regular verb stem; the preverbal part *kha*- behaves like a morphologically separate item, in spite of the lexical unity of the two parts. Moreover, there can be more than one inner stem due to the result of verbal compounding of two lexical stems (see chapter 5). Here the second verb stem, which is referred to as v2, can also have a regular root + augment structure.

The full form of a verb stem can be realized only before vowels. No verb stem (Σ) can occur on its own except the third person singular intransitive nonpast subjunctive form. All other forms must be inflected including prefixes and suffixes before they can be used for a particular purpose. The first stem Σ is commonly inflected by one suffix, and the v2 with the full range of inflectional affixes.

On the basis of stem finals, seventeen types of verb stems can be distinguished in Chintang. In this section, I describe them in terms of their makeup and their respective morphological behavior.

a) Verbs with stem final *-t*, *-d*, *-s*

A large number of Chintang verb stems end with *-t*, *-d* and *-s*. The stem final consonant is deleted before a consonantal suffix. However, with *-t* ending stems the final *-t* changes into the glottal stop and the stem-vowel changes into a diphthong. The examples of *-t*, *-d* and *-s* ending stems are given in (4.1) to (4.3) respectively.

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-----------------|-----------|
| (4.1) | <i>khat-</i> | <i>khaiʔ-ma</i> | ‘go’ |
| | <i>that-</i> | <i>thaiʔ-ma</i> | ‘be seen’ |
| | <i>khet-</i> | <i>kheiʔ-ma</i> | ‘buy’ |

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| (4.2) | <i>aŋd-</i> | <i>aŋ-ma</i> | ‘endure, put up with, tolerate’ |
| | <i>numd-</i> | <i>num-ma</i> | ‘work, make’ |
| | <i>nud-</i> | <i>nu-ma</i> | ‘be well, be good’ |

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| (4.3) | <i>kos-</i> | <i>ko-ma</i> | ‘walk around’ |
| | <i>pes-</i> | <i>pe-ma</i> | ‘vomit’ |

phis- *phi-ma* ‘fart’

b) Verbs with stem final -*tt*

There are 31 verbs which end with a stem final -*tt*. There is no restriction in terms of stem vowel selection; the -*tt* stem verbs can appear with all six different vowels in Chintang. But -*tt* stem verbs favor mid and low-vowel nuclei and disprefer /*i*/; there are only five examples of -*tt* stem with /*i*/ in our corpus. Like in (4.1), the stem final consonant is deleted before a consonantal suffix and the stem-vowels (*o*, *a*, *e*, *u*, and *i*) change into a diphthong.

(4.4)	<i>lott-</i>	<i>loiʔ-ma</i>	‘tell’
	<i>patt-</i>	<i>paiʔ-ma</i>	‘call’
	<i>rett-</i>	<i>reiʔ-ma</i>	‘laugh’
	<i>mutt-</i>	<i>muiʔ-ma</i>	‘blow’
	<i>pitt-</i>	<i>piiʔ-ma</i>	‘rub’
	<i>kitt-</i>	<i>kiʔ-ma</i>	‘frighten’

c) Verbs with stem final -*k*

There are few verbs with stem final -*k*. Like other stem final verbs, -*k* stem verbs also appear with all types of vowels. But unlike -*tt* stem verbs, -*k* stem verbs favor /*i*/ as its nucleus.

(4.5)	<i>thok-</i>	<i>thok-ma</i>	‘dig’
	<i>thak-</i>	<i>thak-ma</i>	‘weave a loop’
	<i>chuk-</i>	<i>chuk-ma</i>	‘cough’
	<i>phek-</i>	<i>phek-ma</i>	‘sweep’
	<i>chik-</i>	<i>chik-ma</i>	‘pluck’
	<i>chik-</i>	<i>chik-ma</i>	‘hate’

d) Verbs with stem final -*g*

There are only five verb stems ending in -*g* in Chintang. But they all behave differently from each other. The stem-final -*g* is dropped in highly frequent words, for example, *thug-* ‘drink’ ends up with *thu-* in *thu-e* ‘S/he drank’ and *yug-* ‘sit, stay’ with *yu-* in *yu-e* ‘S/he stayed’), however, it is present in less frequent words like *hug-* ‘pay’, for example, *hug-e* ‘S/he paid’.

(4.6)	<i>thug-</i>	<i>thuŋ-ma</i>	‘drink’
	<i>yug-</i>	<i>yuŋ-ma</i>	‘sit, stay’
	<i>thag-</i>	<i>thaŋ-ma</i>	‘sew’
	<i>yag-</i>	<i>yaŋ-ma</i>	‘use, make use of’
	<i>hug-</i>	<i>huŋ-ma</i>	‘pay’

e) Verbs with stem final *-r*

This group consists of very few verbs. Out of 654 verbs in our corpus, there are only seven verbs ending in *-r*. Like *-k* stem verbs, *-r* stem verbs also favor /*i*/; there is no example of the sequence /*ir*/ in Chintang.

(4.7)	<i>or-</i>	<i>o-ma</i>	‘hit by throwing, throw at’
	<i>par-</i>	<i>pa-ma</i>	‘grow, increase’
	<i>sir-</i>	<i>si-ma</i>	‘remove (lice etc.)’
	<i>ter-</i>	<i>te-ma</i>	‘come back’ (Shambugāũ dialect)
	<i>khur-</i>	<i>khu-ma</i>	‘carry’

However, the sequence of /*i*/ and /*r*/ is found in borrowed items, for example, *khiccire* ‘a dish of rice and lentil’. Like in other cases, the stem final *-r* is deleted before a consonantal suffix.

f) Verbs with stem final *-p*

The stem final *-p* is not deleted when it is followed by consonants. But sometimes it changes to *-m* before some consonants. *-p* stem ending verbs favor back vowels (e.g., /*u*/ and /*o*/). There are few verbs with low central vowel (e.g., /*a*/). But there are no verbs with the sequences /*ip*/ or /*ip*/.

(4.8)	<i>hap-</i>	<i>hap-ma</i>	‘cry’
	<i>thup-</i>	<i>thup-ma</i>	‘sew, stitch’
	<i>kop-</i>	<i>kop-ma</i>	‘pick up’

g) Verbs with stem final *-n*, *-ŋ* and *-l*

There are not many verbs which end in sonorants. In each sonorant listed above we have less than 10 members out of 654 verbs. In this set, *-l* stem verbs can freely co-occur with all

vowels, although there is only one example with /u/ in our corpus. Except the velar nasal /ŋ/, both sonorants /n/ and /l/ are deleted before consonants, and the stem-vowel changes into a nasalized diphthong, as in (4.9) and (4.10).

(4.9)	<i>phil-</i>	<i>phiĩ-ma</i>	‘milk’
	<i>hol-</i>	<i>hoĩ-ma</i>	‘mix’
	<i>wal-</i>	<i>waĩ-ma</i>	‘stir (rice)’
	<i>ghil-</i>	<i>ghiĩ-ma</i>	‘open eyelid wide’
	<i>mel-</i>	<i>meĩ-ma</i>	‘make level’
	<i>hul-</i>	<i>huĩ-ma</i>	‘pull out’

(4.10)	<i>ten-</i>	<i>teĩ-ma</i>	‘beat’
	<i>phan-</i>	<i>phaĩ-ma</i>	‘walk’

(4.11)	<i>khaŋ-</i>	<i>khaŋ-ma</i>	‘see’
	<i>thuŋ-</i>	<i>thuŋ-ma</i>	‘drink’

At the same time, like in Camling (Ebert 1997b), the elision of the stem final consonant results in diphthongization and nasalization of the stem vowels.¹ But the stem final -ŋ is not deleted when it is followed by consonants.

h) Verbs with stem final -nd

There are quite a few verbs with stem final -nd in Chintang. Like a number of other stem finals, -nd can appear with all types of vowels. The full stem is realized only before vowels; the stem-vowel is changed into a diphthong and gets nasalized.

(4.12)	<i>dhond-</i>	<i>dhoĩ-ma</i>	‘grab’
	<i>hend-</i>	<i>heĩ-ma</i>	‘be left over, be surplus’
	<i>pind-</i>	<i>pĩ-ma</i>	‘run away’
	<i>tand-</i>	<i>taĩ-ma</i>	‘jump’
	<i>rind-</i>	<i>riĩ-ma</i>	‘brush, rub, clean, sharpen’

¹ However, in Camling (Ebert 1997b), the stem final -l is not deleted. For example, *bil-* ~ *bilma* ‘squeeze, milk’.

dund- *duĩ-ma* 'be short; make short'

i) Verbs with stem final -ʔs, and -ĩs

There are only two verbs with stem final -ʔs and three verbs with -ĩs in the Chintang corpus. In both cases the stem final consonant is deleted when the verb combines with suffixes beginning with a consonant.

(4.13) *ciʔs-* *ciʔ-ma* 'be bad, look ugly'
iʔs- *iʔ-ma* 'be not good, be broken, be rotten, be damaged'

(4.14) *puĩs-* *puĩ-ma* 'produce'
phaĩs- *phaĩ-ma* 'send'

j) Verbs with open stems on -u, -i, -a

There are extremely few verbs which end on a vowel in Chintang. Out of 654 verbs in our corpus, there are only 15 verbs which have a vowel ending. Though all vowels can appear as nucleus, not all vowels can appear in the stem final position. There are no examples with stem final /e/ or /o/. When added to vowel stems, a suffix directly follows the vowel of the stem.

(4.15) *ca-* *ca-ma* 'eat'
ma- *ma-ma* 'get lost'
ta- *ta-ma* 'come'

(4.16) *si-* *si-ma* 'die'
khi- *khi-ma* 'quarrel'

(4.17) *ri-* *ri-ma* 'turn to the other side'

(4.18) *tu-* *tu-ma* 'fight'

Table 4.1 gives a complete overview of the morphological interaction between the final sounds of stems and the initial sounds of suffixes.

	-V	-ŋ	-c	t(h)	-n	-l	-s	-{k, p, m, y, #}	example
-V	-V-V	-V-(ŋ)	-V-c	-V-th	-V-n	V-l	-V-s	-V-k	<i>tu-</i> ‘fight’
-d	-d-V	-ø-ŋ	-ø-c	-ø-th	-ø-n	-ø-l	-ø-s	-ø-k	<i>hid-</i> ‘finish’
-g	-(g)-V	-ŋ-ŋ	-ŋ-c	-ŋ-th?	-ŋ-n	-ŋ-l	-ŋ-s	-ŋ-k	<i>hug-</i> ‘pay’
-p	-b-V	-p-m	-p-c	-p-th	-p-n	-p-l	-p-s	-p-k	<i>lap-</i> ‘seize’
-t	-d-V	-iʔ-ỹ	-c-c	-t-t	-ʔ-n	-ʔ-l	-s-s	-iʔ-k	<i>khat-</i> ‘go’
-tt	-tt-V	-iʔ-ỹ	-c-c	-t-th	-ʔ-n	-ʔ-l	-s-s	-iʔ-k	<i>khatt-</i> ‘bring’
-k	-g-V	-k-ŋ	-k-c	-k-th	-k-n	-k-l	-k-s	-k-k	<i>lik-</i> ‘enter’
-m	-m-V	-m-m	-m-c	-m-th	-m-n	-m-l	-m-s	-m-k	<i>kam-</i> ‘tie’
-n	-n-V	-ĩ-ỹ	-n-c	-n-th	-n-n	-n-l	-ĩ-s	-ĩ-k	<i>phan-</i> ‘move’
-nd	-nd-V	-ĩ-ỹ	-n-c	-n-th	-n-n	-n-l	-ĩ-s	-ĩ-k	<i>cind-</i> ‘teach’
-ĩs	-ĩs-V	-ĩ-ỹ	-n-c	-n-th	-n-n	-n-l	-ĩ-s	-ĩ-k	<i>kaĩs-</i> ‘send up’
-ŋ	-(ŋ)-V	-ŋ-ŋ	-ŋ-c	-ŋ-th	-ŋ-n	-ŋ-l	-ŋ-s	-ŋ-k	<i>toŋ-</i> ‘fit’
-r	-r-V	-ø-ŋ	-ø-c	-ø-th	-ø-n	-ø-l	-ø-s	-ø-k	<i>khur-</i> ‘carry’
-l	-l-V	-ĩ-ỹ	-n-c	-n-th	-n-n	-n-l	-ĩ-s	-ĩ-k	<i>hol-</i> ‘mix’
-s	-s-V	-ø-ŋ	-ø-c	-ø-th	-ø-n	-ø-l	-ø-s	-ø-k	<i>kos-</i> ‘walk around’
-ʔs	-ss-V	-ʔ-ỹ	-ʔ-c	-ʔ-th?	-ʔ-n	-ʔ-l	-s-s	-ʔ-k	<i>iʔs-</i> ‘destroy’
-C{s,t}	-Cs/t-V	-C-ŋ	-C-c	-C-t	-C-n	-C-l	-C-s	-C-k	<i>nakt-</i> ‘ask for’

Table: 4.1: Final sounds of verb stems combined with suffix-initial sounds (Schikowski 2011)

4.2 Intransitive paradigm

All Chintang verbs can inflect intransitively due to various alternations, but not all can inflect transitively. The percentage of verbs which obligatorily take the intransitive frame {S-NOM V-s(S)} is considerably lower (only 131 verbs 20%) than ambitransitive verbs. Some examples of the most frequent intransitive verbs are *ta-* ‘come’, *hap-* ‘cry’, *khat-* ‘go’, *si-* ‘die’ and *ims-* ‘sleep’. There are a number of significant differences between intransitive and transitive verbs in Chintang. One major difference is in the number of arguments marked in the verb.

Table 4.2 presents a template of an intransitive verb in Chintang. In this paradigm, the affixes indicate tense and agreement in person and number with S arguments. Table 4.3 presents fully inflected intransitive verb paradigm of the verb *thap*- ‘come level’.

S	NPST	PST
1s	Σ - <i>ŋa-ʔã</i>	Σ - <i>e-hẽ</i>
1di	Σ - <i>ce-ke</i>	Σ - <i>a-ce</i>
1pi	Σ - <i>i-ki</i>	Σ - <i>he</i>
1de	Σ - <i>ce-ke-ŋa</i>	Σ - <i>a-ce-hẽ</i>
1pe	Σ - <i>ki-ŋa</i>	Σ - <i>ŋa-hẽ</i>
2s	<i>a</i> - Σ - <i>no(k)</i>	<i>a</i> - Σ - <i>e</i>
2p	<i>a</i> - Σ - <i>ki</i>	<i>a</i> - Σ - <i>he</i>
2d	<i>a</i> - Σ - <i>ce</i>	<i>a</i> - Σ - <i>a-c-e</i>
3s	Σ - <i>no(k)</i>	Σ - <i>e</i>
3d	<i>u</i> - Σ - <i>ce-ke</i>	<i>u</i> - Σ - <i>a-c-e</i>
3ns	<i>u</i> - Σ - <i>no(k)</i>	<i>u</i> - Σ - <i>e</i>

Table 4.2: Template of an intransitive verb

S	NPST	PST
1s	<i>thap-ma-ʔã</i>	<i>thab-ehẽ</i>
1di	<i>thap-ce-ke</i>	<i>thab-ce</i>
1pi	<i>thab-i-ki</i>	<i>thab-i-hẽ</i>
1de	<i>thap-ce-ke-ŋa</i>	<i>thab-a-ce-hẽ</i>
1pe	<i>thab-i-ki-ŋa</i>	<i>thab-i-e-hẽ</i>
2s	<i>a-thap-no</i>	<i>a-thab-e</i>
2p	<i>a-thab-i-ki</i>	<i>a-thab-i-he</i>
2d	<i>a-thap-ce-ke</i>	<i>a-thab-a-c-e</i>
3s	<i>thap-no</i>	<i>thab-e</i>
3d	<i>u-thap-ce-ke</i>	<i>u-thab-a-c-e</i>
3p	<i>u-thap-no</i>	<i>u-thab-e</i>

Table 4.3: Intransitive inflection: example *thap*- ‘come level’

In the above intransitive paradigm, we see that there is no change in the root of the verb, except voicing ($p \rightarrow b$) in the intervocalic position in the second paradigm.

4.3 Transitive paradigm

Like in several other Kiranti languages, the augment *-t* (after consonant) ~ *-d* (after vowel), changes an intransitive verb into a transitive verb. But there are also a large number of verbs which are used both transitively and intransitively without any change in the stem. The transitive verbs are marked for two arguments, i.e. A and P.

Tables 4.4 and 4.5 present a template of a transitive verb in nonpast and past respectively.

A/P	1s	1de	1pe	1di	1pi	2s	2d	2p	3s	3ns
1s	Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa					Σ - ηa - ηa	Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa	Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa	Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa
1de	Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa					Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa				
1pe	Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa					Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa				
1di	Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa					Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa				
1pi	Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa					Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa				
2s	a - Σ - ηa - ηa	a - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa					a - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	a - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	a - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	a - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa
2d	a - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	a - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa					a - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	a - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	a - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	a - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa
2p	a - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	a - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa					a - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	a - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	a - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	a - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa
3s	u - Σ - ηa - ηa	u - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa					u - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	u - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	u - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	u - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa
3d	u - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	u - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa					u - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	u - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	u - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	u - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa
3p	u - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	u - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa					u - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	u - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	u - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa	u - Σ - ηa - ηa - ηa - ηa

Table 4.4: Template of a transitive verb in Nonpast

A/P	1s	1de	1pe	1di	1pi	2s	2d	2p	3s	3ns
1s	$\Sigma\eta\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\eta\text{-}\tilde{c}\tilde{i}\text{-}h\tilde{e}$					$\Sigma\text{-}n\text{-}e\text{-}h\tilde{e}$	$\Sigma\text{-}n\text{-}\alpha\text{-}c\text{-}e$	$\Sigma\text{-}n\text{-}\alpha\text{-}ni\text{-}h\tilde{e}$	$\Sigma\text{-}u\text{-}h\tilde{e}$	$\Sigma\text{-}u\text{-}\eta\text{-}\tilde{c}\tilde{i}\text{-}h\tilde{e}$
1de	$\Sigma\text{-}n\text{-}\alpha\text{-}n\tilde{c}\tilde{i}\text{-}e\text{-}h\tilde{e}$					$\Sigma\text{-}\alpha\text{-}c\text{-}h\tilde{e}$				
1pe										
1di	$\Sigma\text{-}n\text{-}\alpha\text{-}n\tilde{c}\tilde{i}\text{-}h\tilde{e}$					$\Sigma\text{-}\alpha\text{-}c\text{-}e$				
1pi										
2s	$\alpha\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}e\text{-}h\tilde{e}$		$\alpha\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}n\text{-}\alpha\text{-}c\text{-}e$		$\alpha\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}e$					
2d	$\alpha\text{-}ma\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}\alpha\text{-}c\text{-}e$		$\alpha\text{-}ma\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}e$							$\alpha\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}\alpha\text{-}c\text{-}e$
2p	$\alpha\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\tilde{i}\alpha\text{-}\eta\text{-}ni\text{-}\eta$		$\alpha\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}n\text{-}\alpha\text{-}n\tilde{c}\tilde{i}\text{-}h\tilde{e}$		$\alpha\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\tilde{i}\alpha\text{-}\eta\text{-}ni\text{-}\eta$					
3s	$u\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}e\text{-}h\tilde{e}$		$ma\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}e$							$mai\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}e$
3d	$u\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\tilde{i}\alpha\text{-}\eta\text{-}\tilde{c}\tilde{i}\text{-}\eta$		$ma\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}\alpha\text{-}c\text{-}e$		$mai\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}\alpha\text{-}c\text{-}e$		$na\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}\alpha\text{-}c\text{-}e$		$\Sigma\text{-}\alpha\text{-}c\text{-}e$	
3p	$u\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\tilde{i}\alpha\text{-}\eta\text{-}ni\text{-}\eta$		$ma\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}\alpha\text{-}c\text{-}e$		$mai\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}\alpha\text{-}c\text{-}e$		$na\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}\alpha\text{-}c\text{-}e$			

Table 4.5: Template of a transitive verb in Past

4.4 Reflexive

The suffixes *-ncĩ*, *-ce* and *-na* are used to mark the reflexive in Chintang. *-ncĩ* appears mostly with non-finite (4.19a-c) and finite non-singular forms (4.19d), *-ce* with finite singular forms (4.20a,b), and *-na* appears with all reflexive forms except 1s reflexive and non-finite forms (4.20c). These suffixes follow the intransitive inflection in agreeing with the number of the subject of the clause. Reflexive in Chintang is always subject oriented in binding domains, i.e. the antecedent of this reflexive element must always be the grammatical subject.

The following examples show the reflexive marking in verbal cross-referencing.

- (4.19) a. *may-e* *mar-e* *num-ma-ncĩ* *mahã?*
 love-V.NTVZ kill-V.NTVZ do-1sS-INF-REFL not
 ‘I should not forget myself.’ [Student_life.146]
- b. *khaŋ-num-cĩ-si* *a-thab-a-ŋs-e*
 look-do-REFL-PURP 2sS-come.level-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘You have come to show yourself.’ [CLLDCh1R02S04.0980]
- c. *latthi-ŋa* *tom-cĩ-saŋa* *phan-no*
 stick-INSTR take.support-REFL-CVB [3sS]walk-NPST
 ‘He is walking away by supporting himself with a stick.’ [CLDLCh3R05S02.163]
- d. *anci* *cop-na-ncĩ-hẽ*
 1d see-REFL-REFL-1.PST
 ‘We saw ourselves.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- (4.20) a. *tek-na-ce*
 hide-REFL-REFL
 ‘He hides himself.’ [CLLDCh1R01S01.075]
- b. *a-cop-na-ce*
 2s-see-REFL-REFL
 ‘You saw yourself.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- c. *u-num-na-ncĩ-hẽ*
 3ns-do-REFL-REFL-PST
 ‘They did it themselves.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

The reflexive markers *-ce* and *-na* resemble some other markers, for example, the non-singular marker *-ce* and epenthetic *-na*, which seem to be diachronically related to them.

4.5 Verbal affixes

As stated earlier, Chintang has a complex verbal morphological system. There is a large number of affixes which code up to seven verbal categories, such as tense, aspect, mood, negation, person, number, and inclusiveness vs. exclusiveness of the participants. The greater number of Chintang affixes are analyzed as portmanteau morphemes which blend two or more semantic meanings into one morpheme. For example, the prefix *mai-* indicates first person, nonsingular and inclusive object argument. The majority of affixes are suffixes which occupy various suffixal slots (there are 14 suffixal slots as noted by Bickel et al. 2005). But as there is free prefix ordering in Chintang, there are no slots in the prefix chain. Prefixes can occur in any possible logical order. As this is already discussed in detail in our paper on free prefix ordering in Chintang (Bickel et al. 2007), I do not repeat it here.

Person and number is marked by both prefixes and suffixes. A finite verb stem in Chintang can take up to three prefixes (*u-kha-ma-cop-yokt-e* [3nsA-1nsP-NEG-see-NEG-PST] ‘They did not see us.’) and up to seven suffixes (*sed-u-ku-m-ci-m-ma-niŋ* [kill-3P-NPST-1nsA-3nsP-1nsA-e-NEG] ‘we don’t kill them.’ In plural imperative forms, it is even possible to get eight suffixes on the surface (*maisetthanumcimha* < *mai-set-th-a-ni-u-m-ce-m-a* [NEG-kill-IMP.NEG-IMP-p-3P-2nsA-3nsP-2nsA-IMP] ‘You (p) do not kill them.’ As I have discussed the basic functions of these affixes in various relevant sections of this thesis, I do not describe them one-by-one in this section, but I would rather provide a list of Chintang verbal affixes with their allomorphs, possible variants and functions in Table 4.6.

Affix	Allomorphs	variants	function	functional requirements
u-			3S/A	3>1s, 3nsS
-ce	-c, -ci		3nsP	
na-			3>2	
a-			2S/A	
mai-			1nsiP	
ma-			1nseP	
kha-			1nsP	
-i			1/2pS/P	3>2p, 1/2pS
-na	-n		1s>2	
-ce	-c, -ci, -ci		d	d except with REFL and in 1/2d>3ns
-ce	-c, -ci		s.REFL	
ka-			ACT.PTCP	
mai-		maĩ-, man-	NEG	NEG with PST, IMP, nonfinite forms
-a	-ø, -e		PST	
-a	-ø, -e, -hã		IMP	
-ei	-heĩ		IMP.ATTN	
-e	-hẽ		PST	
-kV	-ke, -ki, -ko, -ku		NPST (Ind.)	1/2dS/O, 1/2pS, 3O
-lok		-lo	SIM	
-m		-mĩ	1/2nsA	IND/SUBJ.1/2p>3s IND/SUBJ.1/2ns>3ns
-na	-n		LNK	NPST with 1pO, 2sO, 2sS, 3sS, 3pS
-na	-n		REFL	REFL with 1d, 1p, 2, 3
-ncĩ		-cĩ, -ĩcĩ, -ncin	REFL	REFL with ns, non-finite forms
=ne			OPT	
-ni	-n, -nĩ		2/3p	2/3p>1s, 1s>2p, IMP.2p>3
-no	-nik	-nok	NPST (Ind.)	NPST with 1pO, 2sO, 2sS, 3sS, 3pS
-niŋ	-nim		NEG.NPST	
-ta			IPFV	
-th		-t	NEG	NEG with IMP, NEG with past (Sambugãũ dialect)
-u	-ø, -e, -o		3P	
-yokt	-yok	-yakt	NEG.PST	
-ŋa	-hĩ, -m, -ma, -me, -(ŋ)e, -yã		e (exclusive)	
-ŋa	-ma, -yã			
-ŋ	-hĩ		1sS/O	NPST.2/3ns>1s, PST.1sS/O, IMP.1sS/O
-ʔa	-ʔã		NPST (Ind.)	Indicative NPST with 1sS/O, 1s>2, REFL

Table 4.6: verbal affixes (adapted from Schikowski 2011)

4.6 Mood, aspect, and tense

This section provides a brief overview of the mood, aspect, and tense system in Chintang. All morphological categories of mood, aspect and tense are marked by suffixes on the verbs. There are four mood categories: indicative, subjunctive, imperative and optative; two tense categories: non-past and past, and there are two aspect categories: perfect and imperfective.

4.6.1 Mood

Chintang verbs distinguish four different types of moods. Moods such as imperative, optative indicative and subjunctive in the past are marked morphologically. But there is no dedicated marker for subjunctive mood in nonpast. Table 4.7 presents the tense and mood marking suffixes in Chintang.

Mood ↗ Tense ⬇		indicative	subjunctive	imperative	infinitive form
Non-past	affirmative	<i>-ʔã, -no, -kV</i>	<i>-ø</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ma</i>
	negative	<i>-niŋ</i>		<i>ma- -th</i>	<i>man-, mai-</i>
Past	affirmative	<i>-e, -hẽ</i>	<i>-a</i>		
	negative	<i>mai- -yokt, mai- -t (S)</i>		<i>ma- -th</i>	

Table 4.7: Tense/mood markers in Chintang

4.6.1.1 Indicative

The indicative mood is used for factual statements, positive beliefs (at least from the perspective of the speaker) and questions. In Chintang, the indicative mood is marked by portmanteaus of tense and mood marking suffixes: *-no, -kV, -ʔã*, and *-e* in nonpast and past tense respectively.

The examples from (4.21) to (4.23) illustrate the indicative mood with nonpast tense, and the data in (4.24) shows the same mood in past tense. The indicative mood will not be glossed in the rest of this thesis except here for simplicity.

(4.21) -no

- a. *a-lik-no*
2sS-enter-IND.NPST
'Do you enter inside?' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0441]
- b. *mai-nek-nik-niŋ*
ip-bite-IND.NPST-NEG
'It does not bite us.' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0051]

(4.22) ʔã.

- a. *lik-ŋa-ʔã*
enter-1sS-IND.NPST
'I enter inside.' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0440]
- b. *phoccokka ap-ma-ʔã*
IDEOPH strike-1sS-IND.NPST
'I spray (water).' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0979]

(4.23) -kV

- a. *akka ten-u-ku-ŋ i-mma*
1s beat-3P-IND.NPST-1sA 2sPOSS-mother
'I beat your mother.' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0618]
- b. *anam lei?-ma a-numd-o-ko*
when plant-INF 2sA-do-3P-IND.NPST
'When do you prepare to plant it (paddy)?' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0870]

(4.24) -e

- a. *a-c-o-hatt-e naŋ*
2sA-eat-3P-COMPL₁-IND.PST BUT
'You ate it up.' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0433]
- b. *Kamala chep-mus-a-ŋs-e huĩ*
K. PRV-urinate-PST-PERF-IND.PST DEM
'Kamala has urinated there.' [CLLDCh2R04S04.0163]

4.6.1.2 Subjunctive

There is no dedicated morphological marker to express the non-past subjunctive mood in Chintang. However, the past subjunctive is marked with the suffix *-a*. A subjunctive form in Chintang lacks all the indicative tense markers as well. The 3rd person singular non-past subjunctive lacks all affixes. In Chintang, the subjunctive mood is used to represent the denoted action or state not as a fact but rather as a contingent, dependent or tentative mental situation. One of the main uses of subjunctives is in dependent clauses (see Chapter 11). The following examples show the use of the subjunctive mood in Chintang.

- (4.25) a. *putt-u-ŋ-ø*
 pluck-3P-1sA-SUBJ
 ‘May I pluck it?’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.0278]

- b. *abo* *a-khaiʔ-ø=kina* *them* *na-pi-no*
 now 2sS-go-SUBJ=SEQ what 3>2-give-NPST
 ‘What do they give you when you go (there) now?’ [CLLDCh1R03S01.0606a]

- (4.26) *akka* *khad-a-ŋ* *bela (-be)* *paʔ-na-ʔã*
 1s go-SUBJ.PST-1sA time (-LOC) call-1>2-NPST
 ‘I will call you when I go.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

The subjunctive mood will not be glossed in rest of the thesis except here in order to save space.

4.6.1.3 Imperative *-a*

The imperative mood expresses direct commands, prohibitions, and requests. This mood is marked by the suffix *-a*, which is homophonous with the past subjunctive marker. In dual, plural and compound verb forms, the imperative marker is repeated after all affixes and verb stems, as can be seen in examples (4.27b) and (4.27c).

- (4.27) a. *pus-si* *khad-a*
 pluck-PURP go-IMP
 ‘Go to pick (the cucumber)!’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.0277]

4.6.1.4 Optative =ne

The optative expresses the speaker's wishes, hopes and desires (Bybee et al. 1994). The optative mood is expressed by addition of the clitic =ne in Chintang. It can be attached to both the stem of verbs and to the inflected form of verbs to express a strong wish or obligation in the third person or for third-person imperatives.

- (4.30) a. *to-ba=ta* *yur=ne* *na*
 DEM.UP-LOC=FOC₁ stay=OPT INSIST
 'Let him stay (up) there.' [CLDLCh3R05S02.127]
- b. *hicci-baη=le* *khel-a* *u-num-ce=ne*
 two-HUM.CLF=RESTR play-N.NTVZ 3nsA-do-d=OPT
 'Let the two of them only play!' (not the others) [CLDLCh3R05S02.008]

The optative marking suffix follows the negation marker in negative optative structures, as shown in (4.31).

- (4.31) *wanda-somma=le* *latt-o-niη=ne* *na*
 tomorrow-till=RESTR be.enough-3P-NEG=OPT INSIST
 'May it not be (warm) enough until tomorrow!' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0659]

Like with imperative forms, the transitive verb retains its patient agreement, as shown in (4.32a,b).

- (4.32) a. *wad-o=ne* *na*
 wear-3P=OPT INSIST
 'Let him wear it!' [CLDLCh3R05S03.009]
- b. *debi* *u-khatt-o=ne*
 D. 3nsA-take-3P=OPT
 'May they take Devi away!' [CLLDCh1R06S02.312]

There are quite a few examples where a third person acts upon the second person arguments.

- (4.33) a. *na-pi-niη=ne* *abo*
 3>2-give-NEG=OPT now
 'He may not give it to you now!' [CLLDCh4R06S01.624]

- b. *la na-raʔ=ne na*
 ATTN 3>2-scold=OPT INSIST
 ‘Hey, they may scold you!’ [CLLDCh1R03S06.777]

In some cases, the use of the optative is also attested with second person arguments.

- (4.34) *a-ked-o-bhog-o=ne*
 2sA-break-3P-COMPL-3P=OPT
 ‘May you break it!’ [CLLDCh2R02S01.634]

4.6.2 Aspect

There are two different ways of marking aspect in Chintang. First, with a number of vector verbs which have an aspectual meaning as they refer to the internal temporal structure of an event (see chapter 5). And second, with three different aspect markers (see Table 4.8) which mark perfect, past imperfective, and nonpast imperfective.

Form(s)		Formal marking
Perfect	- <i>ŋs</i>	suffix on verbal stem
Imperfective ₁	- <i>yakt/-kt</i>	suffix on verbal stem
Imperfective ₂	= <i>ta</i>	post lexical marker

Table 4.8 Aspect markers

4.6.2.1 Perfect -*ŋs*

The perfect is marked by the verbal suffix -*ŋs*, which indicates a past event with present relevance. This is quite similar to English perfect (e.g., *I have eaten.*). When it is followed by -*m* [1/2nsA], it optionally changes to -*ms*, as in (4.35b).

- (4.35) a. *huĩ daju thab-a-ŋs-e*
 DEM elder.brother come.across-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘That elder brother has come.’ [CLDLCh3R05S01.145]

to perfect forms. Bickel (1996) describes similar characteristics of one of the perfect types in the neighboring language Belhare.²

- (4.38) a. *asinda* *u-ti-a-ŋs-e*
 yesterday 3nsS-come-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘They came yesterday.’ [CLLDCh1R02S01 0141]
- b. *u-kharŋ-si* *thab-a-ŋs-e* *aseĩgosanja*
 3nsS-watch-PURP come.level-PST-PERF-PST two.days.before
 ‘They came to see the day before yesterday.’ [CLDLCh3R01S02.457]
- c. *asinda* *hokko-i?* *ims-a-ŋs-e* *yatibela*
 yesterday where-FLOC sleep-PST-PERF-PST this.time
 ‘Where did you sleep at this time yesterday?’ [Elicited_2012]

In all the examples discussed so far, perfect shows a relationship between a past event and the present. But when there is no such relation, for example, in the case of narration, simple past tense is used.

4.6.2.2 Imperfective past *-(y)akt*

In Chintang the imperfective aspect is used to describe various situations viewed with internal structure, such as ongoing, continuative, progressive, and habitual. This aspect is indicated by the suffix *-(y)akt* on the verb, and indicates situations which have occurred in the past. In the Sambugāũ dialect of Chintang the imperfective marking suffix *-(y)akt* is regularly reduced to *-k* (4.40b).

The following examples taken from the Chintang corpus illustrate the imperfective meaning:

² Bickel (1996:169) points out that there are two types perfect marking in the neighboring language Belhare: a plain perfect (*-ŋa ~ sa ... -khak*) and resultative or r-perfect (*-ŋe ~ se*). He notes that the plain perfect shows a special relationship of a past event with the present (similar to an English perfect). But the r-perfect, in addition to establishing a ‘perfect’ relationship between past and present, it also indicates that the results of a prior events are still perceptible in the present time. Moreover, unlike the resultative in the sense of European languages, the r-perfect is compatible with adverbials like *hale* ‘before’, *usamba* ‘last night’, which appear to specify the time of the prior event rather than of the result.

- (4.39) a. *seme cekt-a-kt-e*
 'S. [3sS]speak-PST-IPFV₁-PST
 'Sem was speaking.' [CLLDCh1R06S03.1244]
- b. *bakhi akka sarok lis-a-kt-e-hẽ*
 such 1s much be-PST-IPFV₁-PST-1sS.PST
 'I used to be very worried.' [CLLDCh2R03S03.0857]
- c. *a-mma-ce a-ppa-ce kam-a u-numd-a-kt-e*
 1sPOSS-mother-ns 1sPOSS-father-ns work-N.NTVZ 3nsA-do-PST-IPFV₁-PST
 'My mother and father used to do a work.' [lifstory_JK.18]

Like in many other languages, imperfective is mainly used for encoding repeated events and actions (Bickel 1996). The following examples illustrate this in the past indicative (4.38a,b).

- (4.40) a. *hunce waphuru u-putt-a-ci-yak-e*
 3ns cucumber 3nsA-pluck-PST-COMPL₃-IPFV₁-PST
 'They had plucked cucumbers (again and again).' [CLLDCh3R05S01 869]
- b. *akka=yay lunghek kob-a-k-e-hẽ*
 1s=ADD stone pick.up-PST-IPFV₁-PST-1sA.PST

or-u-k-u-η-hẽ
 hit.by.throwing-3P-IPFV₁-3P-1sA-1sA.PST
 'I also picked stone and hit it (time and again).' [LH_BBB.094]

The imperfective *-(y)akt* mostly appears with past tense to convey imperfective meaning. But there are few examples where it appears with non-past tense and imperative forms.

- (4.41) a. *huŋ=go cahĩ lekh-a-be can-na-yak-no*
 DEM=NMLZ₁ SPEC.TOP highland-N.NTVZ-LOC [3sS]graze-NA-IPFV₁-NPST
 'That one goes on grazing in the highlands.' [story_bird.039]
- b. *lo ekchina hand-a-kt-a-ni-ha?*
 SURP one.moment chat-IMP-IPFV₁-IMP-p-EMPH.IMP
 'Please keep talking for a while.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.090]

4.6.2.3 Imperfective nonpast =ta

The imperfective marker =ta appears with indicative non-past tense and marks ongoing activities and states (translating Nepali *-dai*). As it appears at the end of a morphological string (e.g., pf1, pf2, pf3-stem-sf1...sf14-ta), Bickel et al. (2005) describe this =ta as a post-lexical continuous aspect marker.

The following data show imperfective in Chintang.

- (4.42) a. *akka* *citthi* *chap-ma-ʔã=ta*.
 1s letter write-1sS-NPST=IPFV₂
 ‘I am (in the middle of) writing a letter.’
 (Father to child: Please do not disturb me.) (Dahl 1985) [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *hana-ko* *khamd-o-ko=ta*
 2s-GEN chew-3P-NPST=IPFV₂
 ‘Are you chewing your (toffee)?’ [CLLDCh1R03S01.0465]
- c. *sa* *yuj-no=ta*
 meat be-NPST=IPFV₂
 ‘Is there meat?’ [CLLDCh3R05S01 1069]

But =ta is not used for ongoing situations in the future or past and not for habitual situations either. For example:

- (4.43) a. *huj=go* *kok* *thuk-no(*=ta)*
 DEM=NMLZ₁ rice cook-NPST
 ‘She will be cooking rice.’
 (Answer to: what will your mother be doing when we arrive, do you think? =
 what activity will she be engaged in?; (Dahl 1985) [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *lokendra-ŋa* *jalpadevi* *iskul-be* *cind-o-ko(*=ta)*
 L.-ERG Jalpadevi school-LOC teach-3P-NPST
 ‘Lokendra teaches at Jalpadevi school.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

=ta on telic verbs implies either a conative or an iterative meaning.

- (4.44) a. *jhullu* *jhullu tan-no=ta=lo*
 IDEOPH IDEOPH jump-NPST=IPFV₂=SURP
 ‘The baby jumps many times.’ or ‘The baby is in mid-air in a single jump.’ [CLDLCh3R01S03.049]
- b. *maʔmi-ce=yaŋ* *u-si-no=ta*
 people-ns=ADD 3nsS-die-NPST=IPFV₂
 ‘People are dying too.’ or ‘People die (everyday).’ [Gen_talk.018]
 (the speaker refers to Maoists violence which killed around 15000 people in Nepal.)

The imperfective marker *=ta* is not obligatory, it occurs in 6 out of 7 present ongoing situation types in Dahl’s questionnaire (Bickel et al. 2005). This *=ta* is perhaps related to the focus clitic *=ta*.

4.6.3 Tense

Chintang verbs inflect for two distinct tenses: non-past and past. Unlike in Bantawa and some other Kiranti languages, both non-past and past tense are marked with various suffixes in Chintang.³

4.6.3.1 Nonpast tense

The nonpast tense is marked by three different verbal suffixes *-ʔã*, *-no* and *-kV*. An archaic variant of *-no* is *-nok*, which is still attested frequently in some texts, especially from elderly people. The distribution of the different nonpast markers in Chintang is like this: the nonpast marker *-ʔã* appears when the subject or the agent argument is the first person singular, *-no/nok* appears with both the second and the third person subject or agent arguments provided that the verb is not inflected transitively. When the verb has to be inflected transitively, the nonpast marker *-ko* is used. The following examples illustrate nonpast marking in Chintang.

³ The reason for this is that Chintang distinguishes between indicative and subjunctive, which Bantawa doesn’t (the Bantawa simple forms correspond to Chintang subjunctive historically). In Chintang, any form where NPST is marked is not only NPST but indicative NPST. In subjunctive, by contrast Chintang has the same unmarked NPST as in Bantawa.

- (4.45) a. *lik-ŋa-ʔã*
enter-1sS-NPST
'I enter.'
[CLLDCh1R04S06.0440]
- b. *akka a-pi-ŋa-ʔã-niŋ elo*
1s 2sA-give-1sP-NPST-NEG or
'You don't give me, or ...?'
[CLLDCh1R04S06.0386]
- (4.46) a. *wanda hokkoʔ-ni a-khat-no*
tomorrow where-DIR₂ 2sS-go-NPST
'Where do you go tomorrow?'
[CLLDCh1R04S06.0932a]
- b. *thitta=yan huni-kipma kaʔ-nik-niŋ*
one=ADD 3nsPOSS-fear come.up-NPST-NEG
'They are not afraid at all.'
[CLDLCh2R02S02.232]
- (4.47) a. *abo ba hupt-u-ku-ŋ*
now DEM.PROX cover.lid-3P-NPST-1sA
'I close it now.'
[CLDLCh3R05S01.131]
- b. *huĩ khems-o-ko=ta*
DEM listen-3P-NPST=IPFV₂
'He is listening there.'
[CLDLCh3R01S03.522]

4.6.3.2 Past tense

The past tense is used for events and states which have already been completed at the time of speaking. The past tense is indicated by the suffixes *-a* and *-e* in Chintang. With first person, the past tense marker is merged with the agreement marking suffix *-ŋ*, resulting in breathy portmanteau morpheme that encodes person, number and tense. Before *-e* the final consonant is voiced: final /t/ becomes /d/ (cf. §2.4.1. on voicing) The following examples from the Chintang corpus illustrate the past tense.

- (4.48) a. *a-ppa khad-e*
1sPOSS-father [3sS]go-PST
'My father went away.'
[CLLDCh1R02S03a.076]

- b. *a-phil-e* *hola* *naŋ*
 2sA-squeeze-PST probably BUT
 ‘Probably, you squeezed (it).’ [CLLDCh1R02S04.0310]
- c. *akka* *ten-u-hẽ*
 1s beat-3P-1sA.PST
 ‘I beat him.’ [CLLDCh1R01S01.155]

The past tense is also generally used with some inceptive verbs to indicate present states.

- (4.49) *siŋsawa* *na-pukt-e* *aba*
 hunger 3>2-start-PST now
 ‘You are hungry now.’ [CLDLCh3R05S04.307]

4.7 Negation marking on verbs

Negation is marked by a suffix, or a combination of a prefix and a suffix in Chintang. There is only one prefix which is used in both non-past and past forms. This section deals with the forms of negated verbs in §4.7.1 and §4.7.2.

4.7.1 Nonpast negation

The suffix *-niŋ* marks negation on nonpast forms both in affirmative and interrogative structures. This suffix follows the tense marker (4.50a,b), but it precedes the imperfective aspect marker *=ta* (4.50c).

- (4.50) a. *kha-ŋa-ʔã-niŋ*
 look-1sS-NPST-NEG
 ‘I do not see (it).’ [CLDLCh3R01S04.180]
- b. *a-yuŋ-na-ta-di-nik-niŋ*
 2sS-stay-NA-FOC₁-TEL-NPST-NEG
 ‘You don’t stay (for a while in a place)?’ [CLDLCh3R05S02.165]
- c. *cek-nik-niŋ=ta*
 speak-NPST-NEG=IPFV₂
 ‘He is not speaking.’ [CLLDCh1R02S03a.064]

The negation marker *-niŋ* changes to *-num* after *-m* [1nsA]. But this change is not consistent; there are speakers, mostly young ones, who use *-niŋ* consistently for all persons.

- (4.51) *hid-u-ku-m-num=ta*
 finish-3P-NPST-1nsA-NEG=FOC₁
 ‘We cannot finish it.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.305]

If something is prohibited as a rule or a social norm, the negative marking suffix is attached without any tense markers. In other words, the negated subjunctive is used.

- (4.52) a. *ya-yokt-i-niŋ*
 PRV-move-p-NEG
 ‘It is not touched.’ (lit. ‘We do not touch it.’) [CLDLCh3R01S03.344]
- b. *aya lunghek-ŋa rund-i-niŋ*
 EXCLA stone-INSTR clean-p-NEG
 ‘Oh, this is not cleaned with a stone!’ [CLDLCh3R05S04.208]

4.7.2 Past negation

Negation in the past tense is marked with a combination of the negation marking prefix *ma(i)-* and the negation marking suffix *-yokt* (4.53a,b). In the Sambugāũ dialect the suffix *-yokt* is realized as *-t* (4.53d).

- (4.53) a. *mai-khaŋ-yokt-u-ŋs-u-hẽ*
 NEG-see-NEG-3P-PERF-3P-1sA.PST
 ‘I have not seen it.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.059]
- b. *ma-a-cai?-yokt-e*
 NEG-2sA-hit-NEG-PST
 ‘You did not strike (the target).’ [CLLDCh1R10S04.224]
- d. *ma-si-t-e*
 NEG-die-NEG-PST
 ‘It didn’t die!’ [CLDLCh3R05S04.079]

When there are multiple prefixes in the verb, the negative marking prefix can also appear between other prefixes, (cf. free prefix ordering, Bickel et al. 2007). The same phenomenon can also be noticed with complex verbs (especially with a pre-verb and a stem).

- (4.54) a. *a-mai-ta-khaŋ-yokt-a-ŋs-e*
 2sS-NEG-FOC₁-watch-NEG-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘You have not watched.’ [CLDLCh3R01S03.044]
- b. *kha-a-ma-siŋ-t-o-ŋs-e*
 PRV-2s-NEG-ask-NEG-3P-PERF-PST
 ‘Haven’t you asked?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.423]

Like in the past forms, negation in the imperative form is also marked with a combination of two morphemes: *mai-* *-th*.

- (4.55) a. *mai-pi-th-a*
 NEG-give-NEG-IMP
 ‘Don’t give!’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.1249]
- b. *mai-met-th-a*
 NEG-do-NEG-IMP
 ‘Don’t do!’ [CLDLCh3R01S02.198]

4.8 Nonfinite verb forms

Chintang makes a clear distinction between finite and nonfinite forms. Finite forms are used independently as the main verb in a simple or complex sentence as well as in embedded clauses. Nonfinite forms are common in dependent clauses. There are seven most frequent non-finite verb forms in Chintang (see table 4.9).⁴ Some of the non-finite verbal forms in Chintang can also take the morphological categories of nouns (e.g. case marking), but still all of them behave like verbs with respect to their internal syntactic properties. As I describe the syntactic behavior of these forms in detail in §11.1, I only list them and summarize their morphological aspects in this section.

⁴ There are a few occurrences of the form *-i?* in the Chintang corpus, the exact function of which is difficult to determine.

Affixes	basic function
<i>-ma</i>	infinitive
<i>ka-</i>	active participle
<i>-saŋa</i>	converb
<i>-si</i>	purposive
<i>mai- -ma</i>	negation converb
<i>-ka</i>	reciprocal
<i>-mayan/-mayin</i>	passive participle

Table 4.9: Non-finite marking affixes in Chintang

4.8.1 Infinitive *-ma*

The nonfinite marking suffix *-ma* is attached to the root of the verb. This is the citation form of the verb in Chintang. These forms are nominal in nature and can have nominal suffixes as well. Examples are given below:

- (4.56) a. *u-suma kaiʔ-ma-ŋa=ta siy-a-d-a-ŋs-eʔ*
 3sPOSS-lazy come-INF-ERG=FOC₁ die-PST-COMPL₁-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘He died of feeling lazy.’ [CLLDCh1R02S01 0407]
- b. *la-ma-be thore u-ri-ce-ke-nin*
 return.back-INF-LOC little 3nsS-turn-d-NPST-NEG
 ‘They do not turn back while returning!’

Chintang infinitives can be marked with the verbal person/number suffix *-ce* [3nsP], as in (4.57a-c). In this case, *-ce* refers to a third person nonsingular patient argument. Moreover, there are only few examples where the infinitival form of the verb hosts the verbal prefix *na-* [3>2].

- (4.57) a. *e akka hum-ma-ce hou*
 or 1s bury-INF-3nsP AFF
 ‘Or I bury them?’ [CLLDCh1R02S04.0218]

- b. *phai?-ma=kina* *pi-ma-ce* *kon-no* *e*
 exchange-INF=SEQ give-INF-3nsP should-NPST or
 ‘Do we have to exchange and pay them?’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.0968b]
- c. *katti* *khera* *yakkhey* *thuk-ma-ce=kha* *lou*
 when time curry cook-INF-3nsP=NMLZ₂ PTCL
 ‘When to cook the curry for them?’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.1076b]
- (4.58) *yo* *na-khay-ma-ca-ma* *lap-no*
 DEM.ACROSS 3>2-see-INF-COMPL₂-INF be.about.to-NPST
 ‘They are going to watch you.’ [CLLDCh2R01S04.638]

The infinitive is used mostly in complement clauses (for further details see Chapter 10) and modals (obligatoriness and desideratives) in Chintang.

4.8.2 Converb -*saja*

The nonfinite marker -*saja* is a simultaneous converbal marker which probably originated from the combination of the oblique -*sa* and the ergative -*ŋa* (Schikowski 2011). It is attached directly to the root of a verb.

- (4.59) *cek-saja* *ca-no*
 speak-CVB eat-NPST
 ‘She eats, speaking.’ [Fieldwork 2010]

There are few evidences where -*saja* can host person marking prefixes.

- (4.60) *sa-ŋa* *mai-pas-saja* *khad-e?*
 who-ERG 1nsP-call-CVB go-PST
 ‘Who called us and went away?’ [Fieldwork 2010]

It is possible for a converb to form a complex converbal construction in Chintang. In this case, a sequential converb is dependent on another converb. All simultaneous converbs form an order like V₁-CVB, V₂-CVB and V-matrix, where the event marked by V₁-CVB does not need to happen prior to the V₂-CVB. This is because the adverbial clauses do not generally form any sort of chain or sequence in Chintang. In example (4.61a), both actions can happen

simultaneously. Moreover, bipartite or compound verbs can also form converbal constructions, as in (4.61b).

- (4.61) a. *tiŋ-saŋa tiŋ-saŋa khel-a mes-saŋa thapt-u-kh-o*
 kick-CVB kick-CVB play-N.NTVZ do-CVB bring.across-3P-CON-3P
 ‘Bring it here by kicking and playing it.’ [CLLDCh4R14S02.0542]
- b. *phan-a=lo yoʔ-ni omba-pak-saŋa khac-ce*
 walk-IMP=SURP DEM.ACROSS-DIR₂ crawl-crawl-CVB go-d
 ‘Please come! Let’s go there, crawling.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.463]

A full description of the *-saŋa* construction is given in §11.1.1.

4.8.3 Purposive *-si*

The purposive *-si* can be attached to all types of verbs in Chintang. Person marking prefixes are more common in verbs with *-si* than in verbs with *-saŋa*.

- (4.62) a. *beuli cop-si yuw-e*
 bride look-PURP be-PST
 ‘He sat down there to see the bride.’
- b. *u-khaŋ-si thab-a-ŋs-e aseĩgosana*
 3sPOSS-watch-PURP come.level-PST-PERF-PST two.days.before
 ‘He has come to see her the day before yesterday.’ [CLDLCh3R01S02.457]

Unlike *-saŋa*, the purposive *-si* can occasionally combine with a combination of locative and ergative suffixes.

- (4.63) *akka bakhra ghāsa hek-si-ʔ-yā*
 1s goat grass cut.grass-PURP-LOC-ERG
- ti-a-ŋ ghari thab-a-ŋs-a=kha*
 come-PST-1sS SEQ come.level-PST-PERF-PST=NMLZ₂
 ‘She had come when I had come in order to cut grass for the goats.’
 [CLDLCh2R02S02.572]

4.8.4 Negation converb *mai-* *-ma*

A combination of the negation marking prefix *ma(i)-* and the infinitive *-ma* is used to negate a special type of embedded converbal clause. The basic function of this combination is to indicate that an action takes place without being supported by another event.

- (4.64) a. *ma=ta-khai?-ma*
 NEG=FOC₁=go-INF
 ‘without going’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.1008]
- b. *mai-hai-ma=ta* *khad-a-lois-e* *hola*
 NEG-discuss-INF=FOC₁ go-PST-OUT₁-PST probably
 ‘She might have gone without talking.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.570]

A full description of the *mai-* *-ma* construction is given in §11.1.3.

4.8.5 Active participle *ka-* (*-pa*)

The active participle *ka-* generally appears together with the sex markers *-pa/-ma* in Chintang. But the sex markers can be dropped if the verb stem is followed by the non-singular marker *-ce* or any overt noun.

- (4.65) a. *biu* *ka-tok-pa-ŋa=lo* *tis-u-ce* *naŋ*
 seed ACT.PTCP-get-M-ERG=SURP put-3P-3nsP BUT
 ‘The person holding seed may plant them.’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.1043]
- b. *wathĩ* *ka-khu-ce=na* *ana-pau-ce* *u-yu-wakt-e*
 egg ACT.PTCP-carry-ns=TOP 1pPOSS-father-ns 3nsS-be-IPFV-PST
 ‘The ones carrying eggs were our father and his friends.’ [phidang_talk.333]
- c. *ha-iŋ=go* *ka-khip-ce=go*
 DEM.PROX-FLOC=NMLZ₁ ACT.PTCP-read-ns=NMLZ₁
 ‘the ones studying here’ [Student_life.006]

In negative active participle forms, the negation marking prefix *mai-* precedes the participle, as in (4.66).

- (4.66) *ani-riŋ* *mai-ka-ni-pa-ce*
 1pi.POSS-language NEG-ACT.PTCP-know-M-ns
 ‘those who do not know our language’ [Durga_Exp.12]

4.8.6 Reciprocal participle *-ka*

A reciprocal event involves two or more participants who act as both subject and object of the main verb (King 2009:125). In Chintang there are no native reciprocal pronouns. However, reciprocity is marked morphologically by the participle *-ka*, which is inserted between two reduplicated verb stems. Thus, Chintang combines two different strategies: reduplication of the verb stem (described as compound strategy in König & Kokutani 2006) and addition of a reciprocal marker (synthetic strategy in König & Kokutani *ibid*) to encode reciprocal situations. Moreover, unlike other nonfinite forms, *-ka* is always used in combination with the auxiliary *lus-*. The main verb bears the lexical meaning, and the auxiliary is loaded with agreement and TAM markers.⁵ Some examples of reciprocal forms from the Chintang corpus are given below:

- (4.67) a. *a-pam-ma-ʔã* *pam-ka-pam* *lu-ce*
 2sA-scratch-1sP-NPST scratch-RECP-scratch do-d
 ‘Do you scratch me? Let's scratch each other.’ [CLLDCh1R06S03.0494]
- b. *khaŋ-ma* *le-ka-le* *u-lus-a-k-a-c-e*
 see-INF like-RECP-like 3nsS-do-PST-IPFV-PST-d-PST
 ‘They used to love each other.’ [love_story.014]
- c. *tham-ka-tham* *u-lu-no* *hou*
 push-RECP-push 3nsS-play-NPST AFF
 ‘They play by pushing each other.’ [CLLDCh4R04S01. 097]

⁵ Chintang also borrows a Nepali reciprocal pronoun *aphai* (आफै), and uses it like in Nepali, but the phonology is adjusted to *appi*.

- (4.69) *appi* *nis-o-ko* *huĩ-sa-ŋa*
 REFL [3sA]know-3P-NPST DEM-OBL-ERG
 ‘He knows it himself.’ [CLDLCh3R01S03.368]

- d. *ni-ka-ni* *lus-i-e* *maya=ta* *yu-e* *paĩ=na* *sams-i-ne*
 know-RECP-know be-1p-PST love=FOC₁ be-PST today=TOP part-EMPH=OPT
 ‘We got to know each other and loved one another, let's part.’
 [ctn_song_RM01.15]

The *-ka* marked main verb and the auxiliary *lus-* both seem to form a single complex predicate. But they can be separated by both endoclititics (4.68a,b) and topicalizer (4.70).

- (4.68) a. *thup-ka-thup=yan* *u-lu-ce-ke*
punch-RECP-punch=ADD 3nsS-play-d-NPST
‘They also punch each other.’ [CLLDCh4R04S01. 843]
- b. *teĩ-ka-teĩ=lo* *lus-i*
hit-RECP-hit=SURP do-p
‘Let's hit each other!’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- (4.70) *cop-ka-cop=na* *a-lus-a-ce=ta*
look.at-RECP-look.at=TOP 2s-AUX-PST-d-PST=FOC₁
‘You looked at each other.’ [Chintang_now.1025]

We should note that the reciprocal affix is formally identical with the active participle *ka-* in Chintang.

4.8.7 Passive participle -*mayan/-mayin*

The passive participle is formed by suffixation of *-mayan/-mayin* to a verb root. This suffix is probably derived from the infinitive *-ma* and the additive focus particle *=yan*, but the exact etymology is still not clear. After suffixation of *-mayan/-mayin*, the transitive verb turns into an intransitive verb, the A argument of the active form is deleted (obligatorily), and the object is treated in the same way as S arguments. As pointed out by Bickel et al. (2010), double object verbs and primary object verbs allow passivization of both T and G arguments, but only T is allowed to be passivized by direct object verbs. Some examples of passives in Chintang are the following:

- (4.71) a. *gara-le* *thok-mayan=kha*
 wall-RESTR build-PASS.PTCP=NMLZ₂
 ‘Only the wall was built.’ [phidang_talk.275]

tense are marked by suffixes on verbs. Indicative mood and tense markers are basically fused and represented by portmanteaus of tense and mood marking suffixes. Chintang has seven nonfinite verb forms which are basically used in various types of subordinate clauses.

Chapter 5

Complex Predicates

5.0 Introduction

In addition to the simple, one-stem verbs discussed briefly in chapter 4, there are verbs forms which are complex, in that they are made up of multiple verb stems. Such complex verbal forms have been extensively studied in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages of South Asia, but relatively less attention has been paid to them in Tibeto-Burman languages. There are no such studies dedicated to compound verbs in Kiranti languages. But this phenomenon does occur extensively in a number of Kiranti languages (e.g., Belhare (Bickel 1996), Athpare (Ebert 1997a), Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009), Camling (Ebert 1997b), Kulung (Tolsma 2006), and Thulung (Lahaussais 2002)). However, the literature discussing complex predicates involves a muzzy diversity of analyses and terminology. For example, Weidert & Subba (1985), Tolsma (2006), Rutgers (1998) use the term ‘auxiliary’, Opgenort (2004) describes this feature as ‘motionalisers’, Driem (1987, 1993) and Lahaussais (2002) use the term ‘aspectivizers’, Ebert (1997a) uses the term compound verb in her work on Camling and Athpare. However, for the sake of clarity and brevity, I refer the vectors simply as v2 in this work.

In my analysis of the Chintang corpus, I found three types of complex predicates prevalent in this language. The first and the most productive one is the compound verb which is a multi-verb construction in which a first verb (v1) stem (Σ) is followed by one or more vector verbs that semantically modify the first verb stem. Such forms are described in various ways as compound verbs, explicator compound verbs, complex predicates, composite

predicates or serial verbs in South Asian linguistics. This is a pervasive feature of the languages of South Asia and the greater Himalayan region (Hook 1974, Masica 1976, Mohanan 1990, Driem 1990, Butt 1995, Pokharel 1999). The second complex predicate construction is made up of a pre-verb and a stem, where the two elements combine to form a single semantic predicate. They both form a single lexeme, but can be separated by endoclititics and prefixes usually hosted by the stem (Σ). The third type of complex form is a verbal compound in which the second verb is fully inflected, while the first verb, which is always a loan from Nepali, is marked only with the verb nativizer morpheme *-e*. Although these three complex predicate constructions are structurally distinct, they share some interesting similarities. For example, in all cases the element in the right most position is fully inflected and in all forms there is the possibility for endoclititics to intrude between the two verb forms.

In this chapter, I conduct a detailed study of Chintang complex predicates in terms of their morphological structure, semantics, and syntactic functions.

5.1 Complex predicates

Chintang speakers make use of very few simple verbs in their day-to-day speech. A large part of verbal predication is achieved by various types of complex predicates. In this section, I will discuss the three most common types of complex predicates found in Chintang. They are namely compound verbs, preverb plus stem compounds, and verbal compounds with Nepali loans.

5.1.1 Compound verbs

A compound verb is composed of two or more verbs (cf. §4.1). The first verb (v1) is the lexical verb in this type of compound form. The second member of the compound verb which I call v2 can or cannot have a regular lexical meaning. The v1 bears the crucial semantic meaning and the v2 adds some aspectual flavor to the combined form. In Chintang, v2 stems have a regular root + augment structure (Bickel et al. 2007). One of the essential properties of Chintang v2s is that they require a disyllabic unit as a host to maintain their prosodic subcategorization constraint (see Bickel et al. *ibid*). As all stems of the Chintang verbs (including the rightmost syllable of bipartite verbs) constitute a single syllable, the v2-stems cannot directly combine with them, so that the first stem (v1) must be supported by an

- (5.3) a. *hug-u-ŋ-bid-u-ku-ŋ*
pay-3P-1sA-BEN₁-3P-NPST-1sA
- b. *hug-u-bid-u-ku-ŋ*
pay-3P-BEN₁-3P-NPST-1sA
Both: 'I pay for him.' [Fieldwork_2010]

If there is the past tense marker *-a* on the v1 stem, the person marking suffix *-ŋ* is also included (5.4a,b). This is not obligatory, but it is very common to include the person marking suffix in such cases. This can be seen in examples (5.4a,b)

- (5.4) a. *chapt-a-ŋ-bid-e-hě*
write-PST-1sA-BEN₁-PST-1sA.PST
'I wrote it for (them).' [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *khatt-a-ŋ-bid-e-hě*
take-PST-1sA-BEN₁-PST-1sA.PST
'I took it for (him/her).' [Fieldwork_2010]

However, as I stated earlier, when there is no inflectional suffix to combine with the stem, the epenthetic morpheme *-na* appears between the v1 and the v2, which consequently fulfills the di-syllabic constraint of the v1. Bickel et al. (2007) report that there are two such cases under which no suffix is available for the v1: the first one is with the non-past marker *-no/-nok* suffix (5.5a) and (5.5b), which appears only on the v2 stems; and the second condition emerges in third person singular intransitive subjunctive forms (5.5c), which do not bear any suffixes.

- (5.5) a. *li-na-haʔ-no*
be-NA-COMPL₁-NPST
'It becomes.' [CLDLCh3R01S04.064a]
- b. *mett-na-bi-no*
do-NA-BEN₁-NPST
'She does it for (people).' [Fieldwork_2010]
- c. *tan-na-yak-lok* *khic-nu* *porne*
jump-NA-TEL-SIM record-INF should.be
'She should be recorded when she jumps.' [Fieldwork_2010]

Moreover, the epenthetic marker *-na* also appears when the v2 is in hortative mood (5.6a), and also in the nonpast subjunctive forms usually followed by the temporal sequential and temporal particle, as in (5.6b) and (5.6c).

- (5.6) a. *ca-na-ca=ne* *na*
eat-NA-COMPL₂=OPT INSIST²
'Let her eat!' [CLDLCh2R02S02.274]
- b. *hui* *man-na-hai?* *pache*
DEM finish-NA-COMPL₁ SEQ
'after finishing that' [CLDLCh2R02S02.588]
- c. *i-pakku=te* *thuŋ-na-di* *pacche* *ololowa* *rai?-ma*
2sPOSS-uncle=FOC₁ drink-NA-TEL SEQ IDEOPH make.noise-INF
'Your uncle makes noise after drinking (alcohol).' [CLDLCh3R01S02.491]

Unlike in Athpare (Ebert 1997a, p. 71) and Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009, p. 252), where prefixes appear as a rule only on the v1, in Chintang prefixes can also appear on the v2 just as well as suffixes. The following examples illustrate this with prefixes *a-* '2s' and *u-* '3ns'. In examples (5.7a) and (5.8a), the prefixes *a-* 2s and *u-* 3ns appear before the v1, but in examples (5.7b) and (5.8b) the same prefixes appear before the v2.

- (5.7) a. *a-ko-na-gon-no*
2sS-walk-NA-AMB-NPST
- b. *ko-na-a-gon-no*
walk-NA-2sS-AMB-NPST
Both: 'You walk around.' [Fieldwork_2010]
- (5.8) a. *u-hab-a-gond-e*
3nsS-cry-PST-AMB-PST
- b. *hab-a-u-gond-e*
cry-PST-3nsS-AMB-PST
Both: 'They cried.' [Fieldwork_2010]

² It is quite common to borrow the insistive *na* [INSIST] from Nepali, for example *bhannus na* (भन्नुस न) 'I insist that you tell!'

However, prefixes cannot satisfy the requirement of a disyllabic host. So, the first (Σ) is inflected with the epenthetic *-na* in (5.7) and the past tense marker *-a* in (5.8), when there is no other suffix on the first stem.

Interestingly, more than one v2 can be combined with one lexical verb, although this is not very frequent. In this case, a maximum of three v2s have been attested with a single lexical verb. This type of serialization is made to focus on an action.

- (5.9) a. *kip-ma-dheĩ-ma-bi-ma*
cut-INF-COMPL₂-INF-BEN₁-INF
'It should be cut right away.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.171]
- b. *khamd-u-c-o-hatt-u-bid-a*
chew-3P-COMPL₂-3P-COMPL₁-3P-BEN₁-IMP
'Eat by chewing it!' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0464]

Generally, it is not possible to have a vector verb twice in a single compound verb. There is only one example in our corpus where the completive vector appears twice in a single compound verbal form (5.10a). But the example like in (5.10b) can be elicited.

- (5.10) a. *lon-na-hai?-wa?-na-hai?*
walk-NA-COMPL₁-TEL-NA-COMPL₁
'He might walk.' [CLDLCh3R01S04.069]
- b. *khamd-u-c-o-hatt-u-bid-u-hatt-e*
chew-3P-COMPL₂-3P-COMPL₁-3P-BEN₁-3P-COMPL₁-PST
'He already ate by chewing it.' [Fieldwork 2010]

The v1 and v2 compounds are usually so tightly fused that they have lost their structural and semantic independence. In most of the cases, such compounds are contiguous; the only constituents that can freely intervene between the two verbs are clitics. However, this type of interruption is not critical for complex predicates and it is not unique to either Chintang, Belhare, a neighboring language (cf. Bickel 1996:56), or in cross-linguistic perspective in South Asia.

The examples in (5.11a) and (5.11b) show that the restrictive particle *=le* and the focus particle *=ta* appear between the two verbs. Examples (5.12a) and (5.12b) illustrate that the

emphatic particle =lo can appear inside of the verbal complex or outside of the complex predicate.

- (5.11) a. *khali pin-na=le-gon-no*
 only [3sS]run-NA=RESTR-AMB-NPST
 ‘She only runs away.’ [CLLDCh4R11S06.587]
- b. *thab-a=ta-ci-e*
 [3sS]come.level-PST=FOC₁-COMPL₃-PST
 ‘She came.’ [warisama_talk.115]
- (5.12) a. *kip-ma=lo-dheĩ-ma naŋ*
 cut-INF=SURP-COMPL₂-INF BUT
- b. *kip-ma-dheĩ-ma=lo naŋ*
 cut-INF-COMPL₂-INF=SURP BUT
 Both: ‘It should be cut.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.170]

Moreover, the two verbs of the complex predicate cannot be scrambled. They can be moved only as a single unit. Any attempts to separate one of the main verbs from its v2 compound are ill-formed.

Like simple verbs, compound verbs can also appear in the infinitival form of the verb (5.12a,b) above or being inflected for the imperative, as illustrated in (5.13a,b).

- (5.13) a. *tĩs-i-bid-a na*
 kick-3P-BEN₁-IMP INSIST
 ‘Kick on it.’ [CLLDCh4R14S02.0628]
- b. *ho mo rikt-a-gond-a-c-a*
 well CIT chase-IMP-AMB-IMP-d-IMP
 ‘Yes, chase it!’ [CLLDCh4R13S04.478]

In a historical paper on compound verbs in Indo-Aryan languages, Sen (1968) notes that compound verbs represent a highly polished style and are used frequently in the ceremonial variety of a language. However, this is not the case in the Kiranti languages including in Chintang. The study of the Chintang corpus shows that compound verb forms are equally

productive both in the everyday and in the ritual variety of the Chintang language.

There are various types of verbs which can appear as a v2 in Chintang. In this section, I deal with the most important verbs and their formal characteristics.

5.1.1.1 *bima*, *-bid* ‘Benefactive₁’

The benefactive marker *-bid* ‘give’ is the most frequent and also the most strongly grammaticalized form. This marker occurs only with transitive verbs and marks any kind of positive (5.14) or negative affection (5.15).

- (5.14) a. *cakhaŋ* *yapt-u-ŋ-pid-u-ku-ŋ* *them*
a.kind.of.porridge³ stir-3P-1sA-BEN₁-3P-NPST-1sA what
‘I make *cakhang* for her.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.595]
- b. *ba* *sa-ŋa* *na-chapt-a-bid-e*
DEM.PROX who-ERG 3>2-write-PST-BEN₁-PST
‘Who wrote it for you?’ [CLLDCh1R06S03.1388]
- (5.15) a. *rame-ko* *u-laŋ-be* *ten-u-ŋ-bid-u-ŋ-khaŋ*
R.-GEN 3sPOSS-leg-LOC beat-3P-1sA-BEN₁-3P-1sA-CON
‘Let me beat on Ram’s leg!’ [CLLDCh1R06S03.1093]
- b. *sa-ŋa* *putt-a-nd-u-bid-e*
who-ERG split-3P-COMPL₂-3P-BEN₁-PST
‘Who split it up?’ [CLLDCh3R10S04.891]

5.1.1.2 *dhei?ma*, *-dhett* ‘Benefactive₂’

-dhett is another benefactive vector verb. It appears only with transitive verbs provided that they are activity verbs and indicate that the action performed by the verbs will take place right away in a quick manner and lasts for a very short period of time.

- (5.16) a. *kancha* *a-catt-u-dhett-e* *elo*
youngest.male 2sA-hit-3P-BEN₂-PST or
‘Kancha, did you strike him?’ [CLLDCh1R13S02.1055]

³ *Cakhaŋ* (Nep. *Dhido* ढिडो), made of wheat or millet flower, is a traditional Nepali cuisine prepared mostly in the hilly region of Nepal.

- b. *huĩ-cok-be=ta* *keŋs-u-dhett-e*
 DEM-top-LOC=FOC₁ [3sA]hang-3P-BEN₂-PST
 ‘She hung it on the top.’ [CLLDCh1R06S03.0218]
- c. *akka* *os-u-ŋ-dhett-u-ku-ŋ-c-u-ŋ*
 1s throw-3P-1sA-BEN₂-3P-1sA-ns-3P-1sA
 ‘I throw it (immediately)!’ [CLLDCh1R06S03.0940]

There are no evidences in our corpus where *-dhett* appears in non-voluntary actions, such as *ims-* ‘sleep’.

5.1.1.3 *hai?ma*, *-hat/-hatt* ‘Completive₁’

This vector verb has two different variants for intransitive and transitive verbs. *-hat* (< *khat*- ‘go’) is used exclusively with intransitive verbs, and *hatt-* is combined with transitive verbs. But they both express the completion of an event or an action. After a vowel, *-hat*, *-hatt* is usually reduced to *-d* or *-tt*. This is illustrated by the following examples.

- (5.17) a. *huĩ* *reg-a-d-e* *appi=ta*
 DEM tear-PST-COMPL₁-PST REFL=FOC₁
 ‘That got torn by itself.’ [CLLDCh4R11S11.204]
- b. *putt-a-d-e*
 split-PST-COMPL₁-PST
 ‘It split off.’ [CLLDCh1R03S01.0555]
- (5.18) a. *a-c-o-hatt-e* *naŋ*
 2sA-eat-3P-COMPL₁-PST BUT
 ‘Did you eat it up?’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.0433]
- b. *lutt-a-t-u-hẽ* (<*lutt-a-u-ŋ-hat-u-ŋ-e*)
 press-PST-COMPL₁-3P-1sA.PST
 ‘I pressed (my finger).’ [CLDLCh3R01S04.034]

Usually *-hatt* is a final vector verb. It can follow any other v2, but it cannot precede any other vector except a benefactive. In example (5.19a) and (5.19b), *-hatt* follows the completive verb

ca- and the benefactive verb *bid-* making the construction more complex.

- (5.19) a. *khamd-u-c-o-hatt-a*
 chew-3P-COMPL₃-3P-COMPL₁-IMP
 ‘Eat by chewing!’ [CLLDCh1R03S01.0464]
- b. *patti tola u-sona-ce c-o-hatt-u-bid-e hui-sa-kko*
 side quarter 3sPOSS-gold-ns eat-3P-COMPL₁-3P-BEN₁-PST 3s-OBL-GEN
 ‘He took a piece of his gold.’ [Ctn_talk02.127]

In extremely few cases, the durative vector *-yuj* follows *-hatt*, and indicates that the action is in the state of completion or that the completion of an action results in a lasting state. An example of this type is given in (5.20).

- (5.20) *man-na-ha?-na-yuj-no*
 finish-NA-COMPL₁-NA-DUR-NPST
 ‘It is being finished.’ [phidang_talk. 161]

5.1.1.4 *dheĩma*, *-dhend* ‘Completive₂’

Like *-hatt* and *-gond*, *-dhend* is also combined with both transitive and intransitive verbs. But there are very few examples with intransitive verbs in the Chintang corpus. The v2 *-dhend* attributes conscious choice of the actor; the actor does something voluntarily or on purpose. In (5.21a), for example, where *-dhend* combines with *neg-* ‘bite’, the actor decided to bite the cucumber.

- (5.21) a. *seme-ŋa neg-a-nd-e*
 S.-ERG [3sA]bite-PST-COMPL₂-PST
 ‘Seme bit into (the cucumber).’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.0347]
- b. *a-os-a-nd-e*
 2sA-throw-PST-COMPL₂-PST
 ‘Did you already throw it?’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.0975]
- c. *paĩ u-taŋ chit-ma-dheĩ-ma mo=kina=kha*
 today 3sPOSS-head wash-INF-COMPL₂-INF CIT=SEQ=NMLZ₂
 ‘I am thinking to wash her hair today.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.150]

intransitive

- (5.22) *car=na* *bakhi?niŋ* *para* *yajs-a-nd-o-ko* *naŋ*
 four=TOP in.this.way COND₂ be.useful-3P-COMPL₂-3P-NPST BUT
 ‘The four is okay if (you write it) like this.’ [CLLDCh1R06S03.1402]

-dhend is sometimes further combined with *-bid*, as in the following example.

- (5.23) *jhaprima* *u-taŋ* *u-kipt-a-nd-u-bid-e* *raicha*
 Jh. 3sPOSS-head 3nsA-cut-3P-COMPL₂-3P-BEN₁-PST MIR
 ‘They cut Jhaprima’s hair!’ (I just knew it.) [CLDLCh3R01S02.268]

5.1.1.5 *cama*, *-ca* ‘Completive₃’

-ca is one of the most common vector verbs found across the whole Kirant. This verb is quite frequent in Chintang as well. In Chintang, it is combined mostly with verbs like *kuŋs-* ‘come down’, *thap-* ‘come level’, *ti-* ‘come neutral’, *tad-* ‘bring’ or *kad-* ‘come up’, which Bickel (1996) labels as ‘environmental space’ verbs. When *-ca* is used as a vector verb, it indicates a number of different functions according to the nature of the respective v1 and the context in which it is used.

In examples (5.24a-c), *-ca* indicates that the action has been already completed.

- (5.24) a. *puma-ma* *kad-a-ci-a-ŋs-e*
 a.clan.of.rai-F [3sS]come.up-PST-COMPL₃-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘A Puma woman has come up.’ (And she is still there) [CLDLCh3R01S02.270]
- b. *u-tapparaŋ* *thab-a-ci-e* *mo*
 3sPOSS-alone [3sS]come.across-PST-COMPL₃-PST CIT
 ‘He came alone, she said.’ [CLLDCh2R02S06.112]
- c. *massakkai* *ims-a-ci-e*
 IDEOPH sleep-PST-COMPL₃-PST
 ‘He fall asleep suddenly.’ [origin_myth.324]

There are a few instances where *-ca* appears with stative verbs and indicates the duration of the action. But their frequency is quite low in comparison to motion verbs.

- (5.25) a. *lo abo yuw-a-ci-a-ni-ha?* o
 ok now stay-IMP-DUR-IMP-2p-PRSV.IMP RECONF
 ‘Now you (all) keep on staying.’ [CLLDCh2R11S01.768]
- b. *na-khaŋ-na-ca-no*
 3>2-see-NA-DUR-NPST
 ‘She is spying on you.’ [CLLDCh2R08S04.1544]

5.1.1.6 *goĩma*, *-gond* ‘Ambulative’

Like *-hatt*, *-gond* is also combined with both transitive and intransitive verbs. It is attested only as a v2, and it indicates that the activity is carried out in a motion.

- (5.26) a. *u-ko-na-ta-gon-no*
 3nsA-walk.around-NA-FOC₁-AMB-NPST
 ‘They keep on going.’ [Ctn_talk02.005]
- b. *kos-a-gond-a-kt-e* *pho*
 [3sS]walk-PST-AMB-PST-IPFV₁-PST REP
 ‘S/he was walking.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- c. *them a-tapt-u-gond-o-ko*
 what 2s-loiter-3P-AMB-3P-NPST
 ‘What are you loitering?’ [CLLDCh1R06S03.0446a]
- (5.27) a. *hururuwa khatt-u-gond-u-ku-ŋ=ta*
 IDEOPH take-3P-AMB-3P-NPST-1sA=FOC₁
 ‘I take it away regularly.’ [mouse_story.122]
- b. *hid-u-gond-e*
 [3sA]finish-3P-AMB-PST
 ‘He almost finished (the work).’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.0957a]

There are very few examples in our corpus where *-gond* appears with stative verbs like *yuy-* ‘to be’, as in the following example. In this case, it basically indicates duration of the stative action.

- (5.28) *das* *baje* *samma* *yu-i-gond-i-hē*
 ten o'clock TERM stay-p-AMB-p-1ns.PST
 ‘We stayed up to 10 o'clock.’ [dkt-ktm-trip.0806]

5.1.1.7 *lama*, *-la* ‘return’

-la is a motion verb which is combined only with *tama*, *ti-* ‘to come’. It indicates that somebody or something returns back to one’s original place. This verb is not attested with other verbs except *ta-* ‘come’. Doornenbal (2009) noticed a similar restricted behavior of the *-la* verb in Bantawa. The only difference is that in Bantawa the v1 loses all the suffixes, and it is attached directly to the stem of the v1.⁴

- (5.29) a. *gakkaŋ maʔmi-ce* *u-ta-na-la-no* *pheri*
 later people-ns 3nsS-come-NA-return-NPST again
 ‘People will come later again.’ [CLLDCh4R13S05.531]
- b. *bhunti* *kutiwa⁵=yaŋ* *ti-a-li-e*
 Bh. dog=ADD [3sS]come-PST-return-PST
 ‘The bhunti-dog also came.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.385]

The vector *-la* can also appear as a primary verb meaning ‘return’, ‘come back’, or ‘go back’. As a primary verb, it is inflected both intransitively or transitively. In this case it can take any verb as a vector verb. When it combines with motion verbs, it signals ‘back’, for example ‘bring back’ as in (5.30c)

- (5.30) a. *ani-riŋ* *tupt-o-ko* *tara* *las-o-ko-niŋ*
 1p.POSS-language [3sA]understand-3P-NPST but [3sA]return-3P-NPST-NEG
 ‘He understands our language but he can’t speak it. (literally “he doesn’t give back (response)”)’ [Fieldwork_2010]

⁴ (5.31) Bantawa
 ta-ø-ci-la-ø-ci-ki
 come-PST-d-return-PST-d-SEQ
 ‘after they had reached...’ (Doornenbal 2009:265)

⁵ *kutiwa* ‘dog’ is borrowed from Bantawa

- (5.34) a. *akka khatt-u-ŋ-lott-u-ŋ*
 1s take-3P-1sA-OUT₂-3P-1sA
 ‘I take it away.’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.0751]
- b. *theke huŋ=go-iʔ a-thog-u-lott-e*
 why DEM=NMLZ₁-FLOC 2sA-dig-3P-OUT₂-PST
 ‘Why did you dig there?’ [CLLDCh2R04S04.0565]

-*lond* is combined only with intransitive verbs and mostly with *khat*- ‘to go’.

- (5.35) *moʔ-ni khaʔ-na-lon-no aŋ*
 DEM.DOWN-DIR₂ go-NA-OUT₃-NPST Q
 ‘It (the ball) moves downside?’ [CLLDCh3R14S02.207]

The distribution of -*lois* and -*lott* is unclear. There are some verbs which combine with either of the variants: -*lois* or -*lott*. For example, *thok* ‘dig’ in (5.33b) can also be combined with -*lois* and there is no difference in meaning. However, verbs like *khatt*- ‘take away’ always take -*lott*. This indicates that -*lott* is common with lexicalized forms.

5.1.1.9 *yumma*, -*yum* ‘Durative’

The v2 -*yum* is found in many Kiranti languages. It appears both as a simple verb and as the second member of a compound verb form. When it appears as a v2, it basically indicates the extended duration of an action or process over a period of time. This v2 generally applies to action verbs, and to a lesser extent, statives, as seen in the following examples:

- (5.36) a. *phan-a-yums-ei*
 walk-IMP-DUR-PRSV.IMP
 ‘Keep on working (lit. Keep on walking).’ [CLLDCh2R12S02.208]
- b. *man-na-haʔ-na-yum-no*
 finish-NA-COMPL₁-NA-DUR-NPST
 ‘It is being finished.’ [phidang_talk. 161]
- c. *hun=go cha-ce-ŋa tiusan mo u-cekt-a-yums-a-ŋs-e*
 DEM=NMLZ₁ child-ns-ERG tuition CIT 3nsA-say-PST-DUR-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘Those children have been crying for tuition.’ [Durga_job.099]

5.1.1.11 *mei?ma*, *mett-*, ‘Cause’

mett- is an auxiliary verb. Unlike v2 stems, auxiliaries are full-fledged stems on their own, and so they do not require disyllabic hosts. Instead they form periphrastic constructions together with a lexical verb (Bickel et al. 2007). In this case, either the lexical verb (5.40a) or the auxiliary stem can be inflected, as in (5.40b).

- (5.40) a. *kha-u-khu* *mett-a-k-e*
 1nsP-3nsA-carry cause-PST-IPFV₁-PST
 ‘They made us carry it.’ [Bickel et al. 2007]
- b. *hunce-ko* *khu-ma-ce* *poka-ce* *them-them-ce*
 3ns-GEN carry-INF-ns luggage-ns what-REDUP-ns

khu *kha-u-mett-a-k-e*
 carry 1nsP-3nsA-cause-PST-IPFV₁-PST
 ‘They made us carry their loads, luggage or whatever stuff.’ [rana_pilgrim.061]

The auxiliary *mett-* basically functions as a causativizer, which adds a causer to the clause in the position of the subject. It can appear with both intransitive and transitive verbs. Added to intransitive verbs, the causative structure is transitivizing. The causer is added as the subject of the clause, while the former intransitive subject (S) is turned into the primary object of the verb derived by the causative. This phenomenon is shown in the following table:

Intransitive Clause:	S		V
Transitive Clause:	A(=causer)	P(=former S)	V-CAUS

Table 5.1: Causative derivation with intransitive verbs

In the following examples, the intransitive verbs *hap* ‘cry’, *peĩ* ‘fly’ and *im* ‘sleep’ are the base for the causative, leading to the transitive form *hap mett-* ‘cause someone to cry’, *peĩ mett-* ‘cause something to fly’, and *im mett-* ‘cause someone to sleep’.

- (5.41) a. *abo* *hap* *mett-e* *gonei*
 now cry cause-PST ATTN₁
 ‘Now, she made him cry!’ [Fieldwork_2010]

v2	grammatical function	lexical meaning
<i>-bid</i>	benefactive I	‘give’
<i>-dhett</i>	benefactive II	
<i>-hatt</i>	completive I	‘go/bring’
<i>-dhend</i>	completive II	
<i>-ci</i>	completive III	‘eat’
<i>-gond</i>	ambulative	‘search’
<i>-li</i>	return	‘back’
<i>-yuj</i>	durative	‘keep’
<i>-loĩs</i>	-	‘take out’
<i>mett-</i>	causative	‘do’
<i>-si/-set</i>	-	‘die’, ‘kill’

Table 5.3: Most common v2 verbs with their function and meanings

5.2 Verb with a preverb

Besides verbal compounds, there are a number of verbs in Chintang which consist of two members, a ‘preverb’ and a ‘stem’ (see Table 5.4). They form a single lexeme together but can be separated by endoclititics and prefixes that are usually hosted by the stem. Moreover, the preverbal elements and the stems cannot appear in isolation; they have no independent function in the language. Preverbal elements are often monosyllabic nouns in Chintang. The following sentences exemplify the use of preverbs and stems compound in Chintang:

- (5.47) a. *themma* *bistari* *lam-thum-no* *mo* *pho*
 which slowly PRV-walk-NPST CIT REP
 ‘(They say that) she walks slowly.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.118]
- b. *Kamala* *chep-mus-a-ɲs-e* *huĩ*
 K. PRV-urinate-PST-PERF-PST DEM
 ‘Kamala has urinated there.’ [CLLDCh2R04S04.0163]

- c. *jamma wa-pitt-e*
all PRV-leak-PST
'All (water of the jerrycan) leaked.' [CLLDCh3R11S03.158]
- (5.48) a. *lak-lus-e=yan*
[3sS]PRV-dance-PST=ADD
- b. *lak=yan-lus-e*
[3sS]PRV=ADD-dance-PST
Both: 'She danced.' [Fieldwork_2010]
- c. *ba cha-ce ni thitta tan=ta-u-phek-nik-nin*
DEM.PROX child-ns FOC₂ one sweep=FOC₁-3A-sweep-NPST-NEG
'These babies never sweep (the floor).' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0367]

The preverbal element *ya-* cannot be separated from the rest of the stem *-cep* except by prefixes and endoclititics. Moreover, *ya-* and *cep-* cannot occur in isolation. In the following example, the preverbal element *ya-* is separated with two prefixes, i.e. *a-* '2s' and the negation marking prefix *mai-*. However, the preverb can also host the same negative marking prefix (see free prefix ordering in Bickel et al. 2007), but simultaneous negation of both preverb and a stem is not possible; probably because preverb and a stem denote a single idea.

- (5.49) *ya-a-ma-cep-yokt-u-ce nan hana*
PRV-2s-NEG-call-NEG-3P-3nsP BUT 2s
'Didn't you call them?' [kamce_talk.054]

Almost all the data shows that the preverbal elements are obligatory. Neither the preverbal morpheme nor the stem can appear on its own. However, there are a few sentences in our corpus which show that preverbal elements are not obligatory in some forms.

In the following natural conversation between two Chintang speakers, the speaker LK asks Rabi whether her friend calls him (5.50a). In his response, Rabi uses the form without the preverb (5.50b). In example (5.51a) the speaker BGT asks KTR whether that particular thing satisfies him. In his response, he also uses the verb form without the preverbal form *som* (5.51b). This shows that the dropping of the preverb seems to be possible only in repetition contexts.

- (5.50) a. *ya-na-cep-no* *huĩ-sa-ŋa*
 PRV-3>2-call-NPST DEM-OBL-ERG
 ‘Does she call you?’ \Speaker LK, [CLLDCh2R08S04.1039]
- b. *cep-ma-ʔã*
 call-1sP-NPST
 ‘She calls me.’ \Speaker Ravi, [CLLDCh2R08S04.1041]
- (5.51) a. *abo* *huŋ=go* *i-som-si-no* *e* *si-nik-niŋ*
 now DEM=NMLZ₁ 2sPOSS-PRV-satisfy-NPST OR satisfy-NPST-NEG
 ‘Does that satisfy you or not?’ \speaker BGT, [kothari_talk.028]
- b. *hoi-na* *si-no*
 AUX-NEG satisfy-NPST
 ‘Yes, it satisfies me.’ \speaker KTR, [kothari_talk.030]

Another example found in the child language corpus (session CLLDCh1R04S06), when a child falls down on the muddy ground, his parents tell him to wash his face (see records between CLLDCh1R04S06.0090 to CLLDCh1R04S06.0161), in this case he uses the verb *wa-chima* ‘to wash’ without the preverbal morpheme.

- (5.52) *akka=na* *chid-e-hẽ*
 1s=TOP wash-PST-1sA.PST
 ‘I washed.’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.0161], \EUDICOt0 06:20, \Speaker Ram

The verbs that participate in the pre-verb construction comprise a small set. Moreover, nearly all pre-verbs are restricted to a particular verb stem, so the occurrence of a particular verbal stem is predictable. *wa-chima* is the most frequent verb in the Chintang corpus which is attested without the preverbal form *wa-*. Table 5.4 lists the most frequent preverbs and their stems.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Lexical meaning</u>
<i>ya-cept-</i>	<i>ya-cepma</i>	‘call’
<i>ep-mus-</i>	<i>ep-muma</i>	‘shit’
<i>chep-mus-</i>	<i>chep-muma</i>	‘urinate’
<i>wa-land-</i>	<i>wa-laĩma</i>	‘flow’
<i>som-si-</i>	<i>som-sima</i>	‘be satisfied’
<i>cu?-nud-</i>	<i>cu-numa</i>	‘be beautiful’
<i>wa-chid-</i>	<i>wa-chima</i>	‘wash’
<i>wa-pitt-</i>	<i>wa-pĩma</i>	‘leak’
<i>som-tukt-</i>	<i>som-tukma</i>	‘love, care, have sympathy for’
<i>kha-siŋs-</i>	<i>kha-siŋma</i>	‘ask’
<i>nam-phan-</i>	<i>nam-phaĩma</i>	‘be sunny’
<i>riŋ-led-</i>	<i>riŋ-lei?ma</i>	‘promise’
<i>lak-lus-</i>	<i>lak-luma</i>	‘dance’
<i>cham-lus-</i>	<i>cham-luma</i>	‘sing’
<i>lam-thum-</i>	<i>lam-thumma</i>	‘walk’
<i>taŋ-phek-</i>	<i>taŋ-phekma</i>	‘broom’

Table 5.4 : Most common pre-verbal compound verbs

The preverb plus stem compound differs from v1-v2 compounds in the sense that some of them, for example, *somsi-* ‘be satisfied’ and *somtukt-* ‘love or have sympathy on’ can be marked with a possessive prefix. An example of this type is given in (5.53).

- (5.53) *sarok=ta* *i-som-si-e*
much=FOC₁ 2sPOSS-liver-die-PST
‘You were very satisfied.’ [warisama_talk.307]

Generally, prefixes are hosted by the stem of the verb. However, there are few examples in our corpus where the preverb also hosts prefixes. In the following examples, the second person marking prefix a- ‘2s’ is hosted by the preverbs *chep-* and *lak-*, respectively.

- (5.54) a. *hana cattit⁶=ta a-thiŋs-e=kina*
 2s small.cushion=FOC₁ 2sA-spread-PST=SEQ
a-chep-mutt-a-nd-o-ŋs-e aŋ tanna-niŋ
 2sA-urine-urinate-PST-COMPL₂-3P-PERF-PST Q bed.sheet-COM
 ‘You spread the cushion and pissed on the bedspread.’ [CLLDCh3R11S08.089]
- b. *a-lak-lu pho*
 2sS-dance-dance REP
 ‘He said you shall dance.’ [CLLDCh1R13S05.557]

5.3 Borrowed verbal compounds

Chintang also borrows a number of verbs from Nepali to form complex predicates. However, the Nepali infinitive suffix *-nu* is dropped from the infinitive form of the verbs and they are nativized by the suffix *-e* and then further combined with a Chintang verb. All markers, such as TAM and person, are affixed to the Chintang verb, which mostly either is the light verb *numd-* ‘to do, to make’ or one of the auxiliaries *mett-* ‘do’ and *lis-* ‘be’.

- (5.55) *ban-e-numd-* ‘build, make’
pod-e-numd- ‘study’
cep-e-numd- ‘press’
ban-e-mett- ‘make’

Borrowed verbal compounds also behave similar to compound verbs. In the following examples, the light verb *numd* ‘to do’ forms a compound with the borrowed verbs *cep-* (< Nep. *cepnu*) ‘to press’ and *ban-* (< Nep. *banaunu*) ‘to make’. Like other compounds, the second verb hosts prefixes (5.56a), and can intervene between the verb particles (5.56b). Moreover, the second verb can also have the active participle *ka-* (5.56c). In addition, unlike with preverbs, it is impossible to negate only the borrowed verb of the compound form; the negation marking suffix appears obligatorily on the light verb, as illustrated in (5.56b).

- (5.56) a. *ḡaklasi-ḡa cep-e-u-numd-e=kina khatt-u-wakt-e*
 banana-INSTR press-V.NTVZ-3sA-do-PST=SEQ [3nsA]take-3P-IPFV-PST
 ‘They used to take it after pressing it with a banana (leaf).’ [LH_Lal.1009]
- b. *ban-e=ta-na-num-na-bi-niḡ ettikhera*
 make-V.NTVZ=FOC₁-3>2-do-NA-BEN₁-NEG at.this.time
 ‘She does not make it for you now.’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.1308]
- c. *ba=go ba khala misin ban-e-ka-num-pa*
 DEM.PROX=NMLZ₁ DEM.PROX type machine make-V.NTVZ-ACT.PTCP-do-M
 ‘the one who makes this type of machine’ [CLDLCh3R01S03.310]

In (5.57a), the borrowed verb *ban-* (Nep. *bannu* ‘to make’) is combined with the causative verb *mett-* ‘do’ and in (5.57b), the loan *khuil-* (Nep. *khuilinu* ‘to fade away’) forms a compound with the auxiliary *lis-*.

- (5.57) a. *them ban-e-a-mett-e*
 what make-V.NTVZ-2sA-do-PST
 ‘What did you make?’ [CLLDCh3R06S04.927]
- b. *khuil-e-lis-a-d-a-ḡs-e*
 fade.away-V.NTVZ-be-PST-COMPL₁-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘It (the color) has faded away.’ [CLLDCh3R07S01. 901]

5.4 Summary

Like in many other South Asian languages, there is an extensive use of complex predicates in both the ritual and the everyday variety of Chintang. Among the three different types of complex predicates, the verbal (v1+v2) compound is the most productive one in the Chintang corpus. One of the major essential properties of Chintang v2s is that they require a disyllabic host to maintain their prosodic subcategorization constraint. So the v1 is augmented or supported by inflectional suffixes, if there is no inflectional suffix available to go with the v1 stem, an epenthetic element is inserted to fulfill the disyllabic requirement. Inflectional suffixes appear on both the v1 and v2. Clitics can intervene between the two verbs. The second type of complex predicate is a ‘preverb’ and a ‘verb stem’ form which both function as a single lexical verb, but can be separated by endoclitics and prefixes. Finally, the borrowed

verbs from Nepali also form a compound with the light verb *numd-* ‘do’ or an auxiliary *mett-* ‘cause’. Unlike in other types of complex predicates, the borrowed verbs do not host any affixes except the verb nativizing suffix *-e*. Syntactically, all types of complex predicates behave like simple verbs and they can also appear in non-indicative or infinite forms like the infinitive or the imperative.

(6.1)	a.	<i>i-tamphuwa</i> 2sPOSS-hair	<i>ba-khiʔ-niŋ</i> DEM.PROX-MANR-COM	<i>mett-a</i> do-IMP	<i>to-patti</i> DEM.UP-DIR ₁	
		‘Please set your hair up in this way.’				[CLDLCh3R01S04.174]
	b.	<i>huŋ=go</i> DEM=NMLZ ₁	<i>sapphi</i> very	<i>makaciŋ</i> black	<i>maʔmi</i> person	
		‘that very black person’				[Fieldwork_2010]
	c.	<i>ba=go</i> DEM.PROX=NMLZ ₁	<i>carko</i> very	<i>mi=kha</i> small=NMLZ ₂	<i>khim</i> house	
		‘this very small house’				[Fieldwork_2010]

In this chapter, adverbs are classified according to their form and function. In §6.1 to §6.4, I classify the adverbs in terms of their function. Section 6.5 discusses how the Chintang adverbs derive through duplication process and ideophonic roots.

6.1 Time adverbs

Kiranti languages are notable for rich sets of time adverbials (Michailovsky 2003: 237).¹ Like in other Kiranti languages, the native words that refer to notions of time are mostly adverbial forms in Chintang. There are series of time adverbs which refer to specific points in time from up to three days or years before the present and up to five days or three years after it.

Adverbs of time, listed in (6.2), can occur clause-initially or medially. They very rarely appear in the clause-final position.

(6.2)	Days	
-	<i>aseĩ</i>	‘many days before/last time’
-3	<i>aseĩba</i>	‘three or many days before’
-2	<i>aseĩgosana</i>	‘day before yesterday’
-1	<i>asinda</i>	‘yesterday’
0	<i>paĩ</i>	‘today’
+1	<i>wanda</i>	‘tomorrow’
+2	<i>chindayuk</i>	‘day after tomorrow’
+3	<i>oŋthayuk</i>	‘three days after today’
+4	<i>retthayuk</i>	‘four days after today’
+5	<i>paŋthayuk</i>	‘five days after today’
+	<i>wareĩ/wareĩba</i>	‘after many days’

The series of time adverbs from ‘three years ago’ until ‘after four years in the future’ is given below. These forms contain the set of affixes *a-* *-maniŋ/-mniŋ>* meaning ‘before this year’ and *-maŋa* ‘after this year’.

¹ See Michailovsky (2003) for a detailed comparative survey of time adverbials (what he calls time-ordinals) in a number of Kiranti languages. Unfortunately, he does not include any data from the Chintang language in his list.

(6.3) Year

-3	<i>adoŋmaniŋ</i>	‘before three years’
-2	<i>achimaniŋ</i>	‘before last year’
-1	<i>anemniŋ</i>	‘last year’
0	<i>paidoŋ</i>	‘this year’
+1	<i>nammaja</i>	‘next year’
+2	<i>chimmaŋa</i>	‘after the next year’
+3	<i>doŋmaŋa</i>	‘after three years’

All the time adverbs in (6.2) and (6.3) show that Chintang employs single words to denote time rather than longer phrases like in English (e.g. “the day after tomorrow”).

There is a number of adverbs which express time in a relative sense. For example:

(6.4)	<i>esari</i>	‘just’
	<i>hale</i>	‘soon, quickly, early’
	<i>gakkaŋ</i>	‘later, after a while’
	<i>pucucuwa</i>	‘late’
	<i>bapali</i>	‘this year’ (<i>pali</i> is borrowed from Nepali)
	<i>eŋsi</i>	‘behind, later’

(6.5)	<i>ta-no</i>	<i>gakkaŋ</i>
	[3sS]come-NPST	after.a.while
	‘She will come later.’	

[CLLDCh1R06S03.0095]

Finally, temporal anchoring may also be expressed by an adverbial clause (see Adverbial clauses in Chapter 11), depicting more fully the event that serves as temporal reference point:

(6.6)	<i>akka</i>	<i>khaiʔ-ya-ʔã-lok</i>	<i>caklet</i>	<i>pi-na-ʔã</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>hana</i>
	1s	go-1sS-NPST-SIM	toffee	give-1>2-NPST	FOC ₂	2s
	‘I will give you a toffee, when I leave.’					[CLLDCh1R13S02.0220]

Besides these adverbs, Chintang has also borrowed a few general time adverbs from Nepali, such as *barsa* ‘year’ (<nep. *barsa*), and *dina* ‘day’ (<nep. *din*).

6.2 Manner adverbs

Unlike in Nepali, manner adverbs are not numerous in Chintang. So, Chintang compensates for this absence by means of either Ideophones² or borrowed forms from Nepali (e.g., *bistaro* ‘slowly’, *chito* ‘quickly’ and so on). Moreover, manner adverbs can also be constructed with the suffix *-likhi* which serves to determine a manner. The suffix *-likhi*³ is quite productive and is combined to almost all types of verbs. It requires the person marker *-i*, which is actually a marker for first the person plural inclusive forms. Like in Belhare where there is a general rule to use inclusive markers for impersonal reference (Bickel 1997), Chintang has the same equivalent forms. The example in (6.8b) illustrates it.

- (6.7) a. *hab-i-likhi* ‘in weeping manner’ [Fieldwork_2010]
 b. *ta-i-likhi* ‘as if something is coming’ [Fieldwork_2010]
 c. *si-i-likhi* ‘as if something is dying’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- (6.8) a. *hui-sa-ŋa* *ca-i-likhi* *numd-e*
 3s-OBL-ERG eat-IMPERS-MANR [3sA]do-PST
 ‘He pretended as if he is eating.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *ha-go* *ca-i-niŋ*
 DEM.PROX-NMLZ₁ eat-IMPERS-NEG
 ‘We do not eat this. or This is not edible.’ [CLDLCh3R02S01. 020]

Besides this, Chintang also expresses manner by means of demonstratives, where proximate is signaled by *ba-* and remote is signaled by *huŋ-*, as everywhere. In this case, the suffix *-khi?* has simply a semantic function that makes the pronominal referring to a manner. Consider the following examples in (6.9a-c).

- (6.9) a. *ba-khi(?)* ‘like this, this way, in this manner’
 DEM.PROX-TYP

² See Rai et al. (2005) for a full discussion of ideophones and reduplicated/triplicated forms which function like adverbs in Chintang.

³ *-likhi* does not require any linking morpheme when it is attached to nouns or particles, e.g. *puchak likhi* ‘like a snake’ [CLDLCh2R01S03. 0812]. It might be the case that *-likhi* has been borrowed from Indo-Aryan and that *-khi?* derives from this.

- b. *huŋ-khi(?)* ‘like that way’
 DEM-TYP
- c. *ho-khi(?)* ‘in which manner?’
 Q-TYP

This is more like a general use of demonstratives to code manner, when the speaker does not refer to any specific way, situation or method. These forms are similar to Nepali *eso* यसो ‘like this’, *kaśo* कसो ‘how’, and *teso/tyeso* त्यसो ‘like that’. In contrast to this, they choose to use the forms with *-niŋ* ‘COM’ when they want to be more specific in terms of their context. In this case, the speaker gives some specific methods or ways. These forms are equivalent to Nepali *esari* यसरी ‘this way’, *kaśari* कसरी ‘how, in what manner’, and *tesari/tyasari* त्यसरी ‘that way’.

- (6.10) a. *ba-khi(?)niŋ* ‘with this manner’
 DEM.PROX-TYP-COM
- b. *huŋ-khi(?)niŋ* ‘with that manner’
 DEM-TYP-COM
- c. *ho-khi(?)niŋ* ‘how (exactly)?’
 Q-TYP-COM

In addition to all this, manner adverbials may also be constructed as full verbal clauses, often resembling participial adverbials (cf. Chapter 11), with a verb at their semantic core, as in:

- (6.11) *mai-kham-ma=ta* *min-no*
 NEG-chew-INF=FOC₁ [3sS]swallow-NPST
 ‘The boy swallows without chewing.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

6.3 Place adverbs

There are no genuine place adverbs in Chintang. There are two forms (6.12a,b) which are frequently found in Chintang discourse, but they are borrowed from the eastern dialect of Nepali. Similarly, *yoʔni-bhaiʔni* is originally a demonstrative, but it is in the process of lexicalization.

- (6.12) a. *abardebar* ‘here and there’ [Fieldwork_2010]
 b. *anekkha* ‘everywhere’ [Fieldwork_2010]

- c. *yoʔni-bhaiʔni* 'here and there' [Fieldwork_2010]

6.4 Adverbs through duplication

Kiranti languages have very few monomorphemic adverbs. In many Kiranti languages reduplication or even triplication of some stems derive an adverb. In Chintang adverbs may also be derived from other lexical categories or from other adverbs. They are generally derived by repeating a base twice or thrice and adding the adverbializing suffix *-wa*.⁴ Thus from the verb *bij* 'blast', triplication derives the meaning 'extremely'.

- (6.13) a. *asinda* *bij-bij-bij-wa* *nam* *phan-e*
 yesterday blast-REDUP-REDUP-ADVLZ sun [3sS]be-PST
 'It was a very hot day yesterday.' (lit. blasting sun) [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *paĩ* *chik-chik-chik-wa* *cuj* *lu-no*
 today pinch-REDUP-REDUP-ADVLZ cold [3sS]feel-NPST
 'It is very cold today.' [Fieldwork_2010]
- c. *mi* *sip-sip-sip-wa* *om-no*
 fire extinguish-REDUP-REDUP-ADVLZ [3sS]burn-NPST
 'The fire burns very weak.' [Fieldwork_2010]
- d. *ba=go* *maʔmi* *mak-mak-mak-wa* *lis-a-ŋs-e*
 DEM.PROX=NMLZ₁ person black-REDUP-REDUP-ADVLZ be-PST-PERF-PST
 'This person has become very angry.' [Fieldwork_2010]

In examples (6.13a-c), *bij*s, *sip*, and *chik* are verbal roots meaning 'blast', 'fire' and 'pinch', respectively. In the same way, in (6.13d) *mak* is a nominal root which means 'black'.

In addition to this, a number of adverbs are also built from ideophonic bases. This process is quite productive in Chintang. Consider the next two examples:

- (6.14) a. *phak-hi* *tok-tok-tok-wa* *nam-no*
 pig-shit (ideophone)-ADVLZ [3sS]smell-NPST
 'The pig-shit smells very strongly.' [Fieldwork_2010]

⁴ See Rai et al. (2005) for an exhaustive description and discussion of triplication and ideophones in Chintang.

- b.
- | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| <i>huŋ=go</i> | <i>duda</i> | <i>kui-kui-kui-wa</i> | <i>thu-e</i> |
| DEM=NMLZ ₁ | milk | (ideophone)-ADV LZ | [3sA]drink-PST |
| 'He drank milk chokingly.' | | | |
| [Fieldwork_2010] | | | |

Adverbs can be both partially and fully reduplicated. In partial reduplication, a basic adverb is altered in some way.

- (6.15) a. *gurek* *kili-li-wa* *kir-e*
bowl (ideophone)-ADV LZ [3sS]fall.down-PST
'The bowl fell down continuously.' [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *ajikali* *cama* *lili-li-wa* *chu-no*
these.days food (ideophone)-ADV LZ be.expensive-NPST
'Food is very expensive in these days.' [Fieldwork_2010]

Thus, in the duplication process the base can be verbal, nominal or an ideophonic form but the outcome of duplication is always an adverb marked by the adverbializing suffix *-wa*.

6.5 Summary

This chapter deals with the different types of adverbs in Chintang. There are hardly few mono-morphemic adverbs. The majority of adverbs derive from a reduplication or triplication process. Syntactically, Chintang adverbs appear as a modifier of a verb, modifier of an adjective or modifier of another adverb. Adverbs can occur in various positions without changing their meaning. Similarly, adverbial clauses may precede the matrix clause or immediately precede the verb in the matrix clause.

Chapter 7

Noun Phrase Structure

7.0 Introduction

The minimal unit of a noun phrase (henceforth abbreviated NP) can be a noun or a pronoun. If it is noun, it can be optionally modified by a number of modifiers. Syntactically, NPs can function as subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, complements and adjuncts. As subjects (except for some experiencer constructions), NPs control verb-agreement in person and number and also serve as antecedent of reflexives. The elements modifying the head noun are demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, adjectives, and attributive clauses. The whole NP can be replaced by a pronoun which occurs alone as NPs without any modifiers. In canonical NPs, the head noun appears in final position and is inflected for number and case. If there is no head noun (headless NP), case and number markers may attach after the modifiers of the NP.

This chapter outlines the structure of NPs, and also describes the elements which modify head nouns in Chintang. I begin with the structure of NPs in §7.1. In §7.2, I discuss heads of NPs. Section 7.3 describes in detail the elements which can modify a head noun. In §7.4, I talk about various strategies available to coordinate NPs in Chintang. In the last section of this chapter I deal with the agreement system in NPs.

7.1 The Structure of noun phrases

There are simple, complex, and headless NPs in Chintang. A simple NP contains only a

pronoun or a noun which can be further modified by a number of modifiers, whereas a complex NP contains more than one NPs combined either by a subordination or coordination process. There are various types of modifiers in complex NPs: genitive and possessive phrases as well as attributive clauses. In such phrases, the attributes are embedded by the genitive case on the possessor, with a classifier on numerals and nominalizers on adjectives. Coordinative NPs include simple juxtaposition of nouns and comitative constructions. Moreover, there are NPs which lack an overt head noun. The NP schema for Chintang is represented in Table 7.1:

Pre-head modifier	H	
	PRO	(CASE)
CLAUSE	(N)	(NUMBER) (CASE)
(DEM) (QUANT) (ADJ) (POSS-)	(N)	(NUMBER) (CASE)

Table 7.1: Maximal structure of NPs in Chintang

As the schema shows, the (head) N can also be dropped if there is an adjective or a quantifier or a demonstrative. All forms in parentheses are optional — nothing is obligatory. The head nouns are optional even when they are modified by a relative clause. As I stated earlier, a pronominal head cannot take any modifiers in Chintang.

Some examples of pre-head modified NPs are given in (7.1) and (7.2).

- (7.1) a. *huj=go asinda silok hukno=go kocuwa*
 DEM=NMLZ₁ yesterday deadly barking=NMLZ₁ dog
- b. *huj=go silok asinda hukno=go kocuwa*
 DEM=NMLZ₁ deadly yesterday barking=NMLZ₁ dog
 Both: 'The dog that was barking awfully yesterday.' [Fieldwork_2010]
- (7.2) a. *ba=go thit-ta temma mi=kha khim khed-u-hẽ*
 DEM.PROX=NMLZ₁ one-CLF beautiful small=NMLZ₂ house buy-3P-1sA.PST
- b. *ba=go temma mi=kha thit-ta khim khed-u-hẽ*
 DEM.PROX=NMLZ beautiful small=NMLZ₂ one-CLF house buy-3P-1sA.PST
 Both: 'I bought this small beautiful house.' [Fieldwork_2010]

- c. *thit-ta mi=kha ba=go khim khed-u-hẽ*
 one-CLF small=NMLZ₂ DEM.PROX=NMLZ₁ house buy-3P-1sA.PST
 ‘I bought this small house.’ [Fieldwork 2008]
- d. *akka=yaŋ paĩ mi=kha thit-ta katha cek-ma mo miʔ-ya-ʔã*
 1s=ADD today small=NMLZ₂ one-CLF story say-INF CIT think-1sS-1s.NPST
 ‘I want to tell a short story today.’ [love_story.003]

NP structure is similar to that of the clause, the head is final and the pre-head order is syntactically free. Post-head positions are available for both clauses and NPs. The major characteristic of NPs in Chintang is that the head noun is always in the final position. There are extremely few examples of post-head attributes in Chintang. Demonstratives, adjectives, possessors, numerals and classifiers precede the head noun in almost all cases.

7.2 Heads of noun phrases

The head of a NP can be a noun (N), a personal pronoun (PRO), or a demonstrative pronoun (DEM). All of these can occur as subject, object and adjuncts. A pronoun cannot be modified in Chintang. But the highest number of attributes are possible when the head of the NP is a noun. The head is the most important element which also controls agreement (see §7.5 in this chapter) within the NP.

The following examples illustrate various modified and unmodified head nouns. The example in (7.3a) shows an unmodified noun head, a personal pronoun as a head in (7.3b), demonstrative as a head in (7.3c), and a modified noun head in (7.3d). The relevant head nouns are highlighted.

- (7.3) a. ***bipana**=yaŋ kad-a-ŋs-e*
 B.=ADD [3sS]come.up-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘Has Bipana also come up?’ [CLLDCh4R07S05.1525]
- b. *na-pi-nik-niŋ para **akka** pi-na-ʔã*
 3>2-give-NPST-NEG COND₂ 1s give-1>2-NPST
 ‘If he does not give you, I will give you.’ [Fieldwork 2008]

7.3 The modification of noun phrases

The head noun in an NP can be modified by a number of modifiers, which all occur in pre-head position. The structure of the NP given in Table 7.1 indicates all the possible constituents of an NP. The schema also shows that any number of adjectives may occur in an NP. However, in our corpus not more than two adjectives have been found in a single NP. But during elicitation, speakers do not find it ungrammatical to have three adjectives in a row. In the following §7.3.1 - §7.3.5, I describe the various elements of the NP, with relevant examples.

7.3.1 Adjective

As described in §3.6, there are extremely few adjectives in Chintang whose function is limited to specify colour, size, and quality. Unlike in Nepali and other languages, Chintang adjectives are bound morphemes which always need a suffix, in most cases the nominalizer *=go* or *=kha* to be realized (cf. §3.6). As I stated earlier, a noun in Chintang can be modified by any number of adjectives, although an NP does not normally contain more than two in the Chintang corpus. Some examples are given below:

- (7.6) a. *mi=go* *phak*
 small=NMLZ₁ pig
 ‘the small pig’ [CLLDCh1R09S07.0610]
- b. *the=go* *doku-be* *boms-a*
 big=NMLZ₁ basket-LOC stoop-IMP
 ‘Stoop it into the big basket.’ [CLLDCh1R02S04b 1208]

The head noun in Chintang can be further modified by an adjectival phrase, which consists of an adverb and adjective. In this case, the adverb always precedes the adjective; one cannot reverse the order of the adjective and the adverb. This is exemplified in (7.7a,b).

- (7.7) a. *ba=go* *carko* *mi=go* *khim*
 DEM.PROX=NMLZ₁ very small=NMLZ₁ house
 ‘the very small house’ [Fieldwork_2008]

marking — where the head is marked with the possessive and the dependent remains unmarked (7.12).

- (7.10) a. *ak-ko a-phuwa u-chau=lo asinda kad-e*
 1sPOSS-GEN 1sPOSS-brother 3sPOSS-child=SURP yesterday come.up-PST
 ‘My brother’s daughter came yesterday.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.179]
- b. *hana-kko i-padum=na*
 2s-GEN 2sPOSS-father's.elder.brother=TOP
 ‘your uncle’ [CLLDCh1R06S03.0179]
- (7.11) a. *Kheme-ko wassa khatt-o-kh-o*
 Kh.-GEN bird take-3P-CON-3P
 ‘Please, take away Kheme's bird!’ [CLLDCh1R02S04.0629]
- b. *hana-ko gettis*
 2sPOSS-GEN catapult
 ‘your catapult’ [CLLDCh1R02S04b 1684]
- (7.12) *sapana u-nisa*
 S. 3sPOSS-sibling
 ‘Sapana’s sibling’ [Fieldwork_2008]

The possessor generally precedes the possessee in Chintang. However, there are also some examples in the Chintang corpus where the possessor is postposed to the possessee. But this is possible only when the possessor does have the genitive marking. This can be seen in example (7.13a). 7.13b is a rare example where the possessor appears between two possesseees.

- (7.13) a. *olioli cind-u-wakt-a na i-thurum-ce hana-ko*
 different teach-3P-IPFV₁-IMP INSIST 2sPOSS-mouth-ns 2s-GEN
 ‘Teach different things (to a child), (I crush) your mouth!’ [CLLDCh1R03S01.0144]
- b. *u u-gala u-pa-ko u-dhuli pho cuwa lott-a*
 DEM 3sPOSS-throat 3sPOSS-father-GEN 3sPOSS-dust REP water bring-IMP
 ‘Please, bring water to (clean) the dust on father’s throat’, He says.’
 [CLDLCh3R01S03.213]

It is not only possible to insert an additive focus clitic between the possessor and a possessed item, as in (7.14a), but also a full argument, as shown in (7.14b), which is also an example of a discontinuous phrase in Chintang.

- (7.14) a. *ak-ko=yaŋ a-yaŋme=ta=kha=lo*
 1s-GEN=ADD 1sPOSS-nephew=FOC₁=NMLZ₂=SURP
 ‘He is also my nephew.’ [CLDLCh3R01S02.275]
- b. *Rame-ko chokuma-ŋa u-muk kept-u-ŋ o*
 R. -GEN nettle-INSTR 3sPOSS-hand sting-3P-1sA RECON
 ‘Let’s sting Rame’s hand with the nettle, okay.’ [CLLDCh1R02S04.0488]

It is possible that a possessive marker can appear optionally on both the adjective and the head noun. However, this is restricted to color adjectives, as in (7.15a).

- (7.15) a. *u-makacik u-topi=ta lond-e*
 3sPOSS-black 3sPOSS-cap=FOC₁ [3sS]appear-PST
 [CLDLCh3R01S03.026]
- b. *u-makacik topi=ta lond-e*
 3sPOSS-black cap=FOC₁ [3sS]appear-PST [Fieldwork 2008]
- c. *makacik u-topi=ta lond-e*
 black 3sPOSS-cap=FOC₁ [3sS]appear-PST
 All: ‘His black cap is seen (in the camera).’ [Fieldwork 2008]

Like the elements marked with the nominalizer =*go*, also nouns marked with the genitive -*ko* can appear without head nouns. This hints that =*go* [NMLZ] and -*ko* [GEN] are probably related diachronically. That’s why it’s still got an allomorph or free variant =*ko* in some environments. But phonologically these two (= *ko* vs. -*ko*) are clearly distinct and contrastively distributed, cf. *kancha=go* ‘the one who is youngest’ vs. *kancha-ko* ‘the youngest’s (x).

- (7.16) *ana-ko-ce asinda cand-u-m-c-u-mm-e-hě*
 1pPOSS-GEN-ns yesterday graze-3P-1nsA-ns-3P-1nsA-PST-1s.PST
 ‘Ours (cows) grazed yesterday.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.217]

7.3.3 Numeral and classifiers

NPs are modified by a combination of numerals and classifiers in Chintang. There are only three surviving native numerals which obligatorily take classifiers. Numerals always precede nouns in Chintang. Furthermore, the numerals give rise to number agreement with nouns referring to humans. This is quite a rare phenomenon in the languages of the world. According to Rijkhoff (2002: 29), there are no languages in which the noun must take a plural marker while the attributive numeral combines with a classifier. However, this is not only possible, but an obligatory feature in Chintang. As usual, the head of the phrase follows numeral and classifier, as in (7.17).

- (7.17) a. *sum-bhaŋ* *ma-ce* *ra* *thit-ta* *pa* *yu-i-ki-ŋa=kina*
 three-HUM.CLF girl-ns CONJ one-CLF boy be-p-NPST-e=SEQ
 ‘We are three daughters and one son.’ [khim_ring.061]
- b. *hicci-baŋ* *a-na-ce* /**a-na* *u-yuŋ-ce-ke*
 two-HUM.CLF 1sPOSS-sister-ns/1sPOSS-sister 3nsS-be-d-NPST
 ‘I have two sisters.’ [Intro_family.006]

Like the nominalized adjectives, the numeral and classifier can also appear without a head noun, as in (7.18).

- (7.18) *sum-bhaŋ* *u-ta-ni-niŋ*
 three-HUM.CLF 3nsS-come-NPST-NEG
 ‘Three (people) do not come.’ [CLLDCh2R03S04. 0529]

However, the numerals are not accompanied by classifiers when they modify non-human nouns. As there is no classifier, there is an overt noun in this sentence (7.19).

- (7.19) *sum-ce* *yaŋ-ce*
 three-ns fly-ns
 ‘three flies’ [CLLDCh1R05S01 218]

- (7.22) a. *ba-iʔ* *miʔmun* *camaca* *tis-o-kh-o*
 DEM.PROX-FLOC little rice put-3P-CON-3P
- b. *ba-iʔ* *camaca* *miʔmun* *tis-o-kh-o*
 DEM.PROX-FLOC rice little put-3P-CON-3P
- c. *miʔmun* *ba-iʔ* *camaca* *tis-o-kh-o*
 little DEM.PROX-FLOC rice put-3P-CON-3P
- d. *ba-iʔ* *camaca* *tis-o-kh-o* *miʔmun*
 DEM.PROX-FLOC rice put-3P-CON-3P little
- All mean: 'Please, put a little rice here.' [Fieldwork 2010]

The above examples show that the Chintang quantifiers can float. In (7.22c), the quantifier *miʔmun* appears in the sentence-initial position, while the same quantifier floats to the post-verbal position in (7.22d).

7.3.5 Attributive clause

In addition to the modifiers dealt with so far, such as adjective, demonstrative, quantifier, and numeral, there are a number of other modifications of NPs, which I call attributes. These include phrases and clauses. Normally, a relative clause modifies a head noun (cf. §9), but headless relative clauses (also known as 'free relatives') also occur extensively in Chintang. All types of clauses serving as modifiers of NPs are sentential adjuncts. There are quite a few types of clauses that function as a modifier, including nominalized relative clauses. Examples (7.23a), (7.23b) and (7.23c) are nominalized clauses with =*go*. Similarly, (7.24) is a =*kha* nominalized clause and (7.25) is an active participle clause. In (7.26) the possessive marked NP appears sentence initially. (7.27) illustrates an internally headed relative clause.

- (7.23) a. *thab-a=go* *makcha*
 come.level-PST=NMLZ₁ brother.in.law
 'the brother-in-law who came' [Fieldwork 2008]
- b. *haŋ-ma=go* *ciŋhi*
 send-INF=NMLZ₁ letter
 'the letter that has to be sent' [Fieldwork_2008]

7.4.1 Comitative

The comitative marker *-niŋ* is used to coordinate two or more units of the same type to form a larger unit. It mostly coordinates nouns, demonstratives and fillers in Chintang. There is a postpositive bisyndesis conjunctive coordination system (Haspelmath 2007) in Chintang, where both elements are marked with coordinators (7.28a-c). The example in (7.28c) shows that it is also possible to insert a demonstrative pronoun between two coordinated elements.

- (7.28) a. *esari u-ta-ce-ko-niŋ=yaŋ hola indra-niŋ puspa-niŋ*
 this.time 3A-come-d-NPST-NEG=ADD probably I.-COM P.-COM
 ‘Indra and Puspa may not have come there by this time.’
 [CLLDCh1R03S01.0581]
- b. *devima-niŋ khel-niŋ eseli ghāsa u-khad-a-ŋs-a-ce*
 D.-COM Kh.-COM now grass 3nsA-go-PST-PERF-PST-d
 ‘Devi and Khel have gone for grass now.’
 [CLLDCh1R04S06.0027]
- c. *gaʔwa-niŋ huŋ=go puchak-niŋ u-yu-wakt-a-c-e pho*
 crow-COM DEM=NMLZ₁ snake-COM 3nsS-be-PST-IPFV₁-ns-PST REP
 ‘That snake and a crow were there.’
 [khebak_tale.103]

The marker *-niŋ* coordinates not only nouns but also demonstrative pronouns in the same fashion (7.29).

- (7.29) *huŋ=go-niŋ ba-niŋ kekt-u-c-a akka ba*
 DEM=NMLZ₁-COM DEM.PROX-COM hold-3P-ns-IMP 1s DEM.PROX
 ‘You hold this and that one, I (hold) this one.’
 [CLLDCh1R11S04.029]

7.4.2 Juxtaposition

An unlimited number of NPs are simply enumerated without any connective to form coordinative NPs, as in (7.30a). Such NPs can be translated using ‘and’ in English. The grammatical number on the complex NPs is a composite of the combined number on the two conjoined NPs, as in (7.30b).

- (7.30) a. *maŋgup phiday u-kott-a-kt-a=go ŋis-u-k-u-ŋ=ta*
 garlic ginger 3nsA-hawk-PST-IPFV₁-PST=NMLZ₁ know-3P-NPST-1sA=FOC₁
 ‘I know (hawkers) hawking garlic and ginger.’
 [phidang_talk.075]

Chapter 8

Basic Clause Structure

8.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the basic clause structure in Chintang. This chapter is structured as follows. In §8.1, I discuss the word order in Chintang. §8.2 deals with various types of interrogative clauses in Chintang. In §8.3, I briefly mention coordination strategies and link this section with other sections of this thesis. In §8.4, I describe experiencer constructions. This chapter ends in §8.5 with a brief summary.

8.1 Word order

Chintang is a verb-final language. In a basic declarative sentence all arguments usually precede the verb. In the unmarked word order an actor noun phrase normally precedes an instrumental one. The question formation does not necessarily change the word order, though the interrogative pronoun often takes the focus position immediately before the verb (cf. §8.3.1). Nevertheless, the Chintang language does not have a fixed word order. Word order in Chintang is free, i.e. any arrangement of phrases in clauses results in no change in the acceptability. It is rather conditioned by information structure and not mediated by role or clause type. As there is no detailed analysis of Chintang discourse, it is hard to say which factors are involved and what their impact is on determining the particular word order. But what can be generally observed is that old information tends to appear before new information in discourse.

- (8.4) *ha, bhale=ta=lo ghoda-yukt-o-ko bhale-ŋa*
 ha cock=FOC₁=SURP [3sA]cover-TEL-3P-NPST cock-ERG
 ‘Ha, one cock covers another cock!’ [CLLDCh1R06S03.1420]
- (8.5) *ektala=yan mai-khaŋ-yokt-u-ŋs-u-hẽ akka=na hungo*
 once=ADD NEG-see-NEG-3P-PERF-3P-1sA.PST 1s=TOP 3s
 ‘I have not seen him even once.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

AGTV

In a typical ditransitive construction, T follows G, as shown in (8.6a,b). However, as the preverbal slot is associated with contrastive focus, the G argument takes the preverbal position and follows the T argument when it is focused (Bickel et al. 2010), as illustrated in (8.7).

- (8.6) a. *agga yo saũwa-ce=lo cuwa pi-ma-ce kon-no=kha*
 EXCLA DEM.ACROSS buffalo-ns=SURP water give-INF-3nsP be-NPST=NMLZ₂
 ‘Oh! Someone should give water to these buffalos.’ [CLDLCh3R01S04.084]
- b. *a-cha-ce iskul paŋ-ma-ce=kha*
 1sPOSS-child-ns school send-INF-3nsP=NMLZ₂
 ‘I have to send my children to school.’ [CLLDCh3R06S04.506]
- (8.7) *akka ghãsa saũwa pid-u-hẽ*
 1s grass buffalo give-3P-1sA.PST
 ‘I gave the grass to the buffalo.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

8.2 Interrogative clauses

There are three types of interrogative clauses in Chintang: content questions, polar or yes/no questions, and alternative questions. In this section, I describe all of them with relevant examples from the Chintang corpus.

8.2.1 Content questions

Content questions are used to request information about the actants or circumstances of an event or action. Chintang has a fairly rich system of content questions. They are formed with one of the eight interrogative pronouns available in this language. An exhaustive list of

interrogative pronouns is given in Table 3.4 (see §3.2.2). Interrogative pronouns generally occupy the clause initial position, but this is not a syntactic constraint; the word order can be changed for discourse-structural purposes. The following are some examples of interrogative clauses where the interrogative pronoun occurs at the beginning of the clause.

- (8.8) a. *sa-lo luntak os-e*
 who-NOM stone [3sA]throw-PST
 ‘Who threw the stone?’ [CLLDCh1R09S07.0764]
- b. *them pid-e Joge-ŋa u-nisa?*
 what [3sA]give-PST J.-ERG 3POSS-brother
 ‘What did Joge give to his brother?’ [Fieldwork_2008]

If the interrogative pronoun is not used in the beginning of the clause, the speakers tend to place it in immediately preverbal position, as in (8.9a,b).

- (8.9) a. *gothala sa-lo khad-e*
 jungle who-NOM [3sS]go-PST
 ‘Who went to the jungle (with cattle)?’ [CLLDCh1R13S02.1134]
- b. *sanbhoŋteĩ theke khad-a-ŋs-e*
 Sambugāũ.village why [3sS]go-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘Why has he gone to Sambugāũ?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.499]

The examples in (8.8a,b) and (8.9a,b) showed that interrogative pronouns can appear in clause-initial and preverbal positions respectively. As it turns out, Chintang also allows for interrogative pronouns to be *in situ*, i.e. in the same position as corresponding non-interrogative phrases, as in (8.10a,b).

- (8.10) a. *joge-ŋa sa-lo pempak pid-e*
 J.-ERG who-NOM bread [3sA]give-PST
 ‘Whom did Joge give the bread?’ [Fieldwork_2008]
- b. *paisa sa-lo badde tok-no*
 money who-NOM much [3sS]get-NPST
 ‘Who gets much money?’ [Ganesh_talk]

In some languages, multiple constituent questions, such as English *Who did what?*, is not possible. But in Chintang transitive clauses, it is possible to get multiple question words which may either appear in situ (8.11a) or may order freely with other constituent within the clause, as in (8.11b).

- (8.11) a. *sa-ŋa* *sa-lo* *bug-o-ŋs-e*
 who-ERG who-NOM [3sA]seek.support-3P-PERF-PST
 ‘Who called whom?’ [CLDLCh3R01S02.209]
- b. *khoi* *sa-lo* *them-them* *mett-e*
 where who-NOM what-REDUP [3sA]do-PST
 ‘Where, who did what?’ [CLLDCh4R05S04 025]

It is also possible to question all arguments in ditransitive constructions. But unlike in transitive clauses, all question words must occur in situ in ditransitive clauses, i.e there is no possibility to change the order of the arguments. (8.12a) shows a (declarative) ditransitive clause where all three arguments (Agent, Goal and Theme) appear overtly in their basic order. In (8.12b) all three arguments are questioned with respective interrogative pronouns, which occur in their own corresponding places (i.e in situ). In (8.12c), we see that if the agent interrogative word follows the objects, then the question is ill formed. (8.12d), too, shows that the *in situ* positions in ditransitive clauses are rigid.¹

- (8.12) a. *joge-ŋa* *u-nisa* *pempak pid-e*
 joge-ERG 3sPOSS-sister bread [3sA]give-PST
 ‘Joge gave the bread to his sister.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *sa-ŋa* *sa-lo* *them* *pid-e*
 who-ERG who-NOM what [3sA]give-PST
- c. **them* *sa-lo* *sa-ŋa* *pid-e*
 what who-NOM who-ERG [3sA]give-PST

¹ For some speakers (8.12c) and (8.12d) are very odd sentences but they are still grammatical. This is something people are uncertain about.

- b. *hupkhi=ta mil-o-ko them*
 as.such=FOC₁ swallow-3P-NPST Q
 ‘Does she swallow without chewing?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.177]

Polar questions are commonly answered by *eʔni*, *a*, *ah* ‘yes’, or *mahaʔ/manche*, the negation particle. But there are also a large number of examples where the polar question is answered with a complete sentence, as illustrated in (8.16).

- (8.16) a. *hui-sa-ko bijuli om-no aʔ*
 3s-OBL-GEN light [3sS]shine-NPST Q
 ‘Does its light shine?’ [CLDLCh2R01S03. 0313]
- b. *a bijuli om-nu-niʔ*
 FILLER light [3sS]shine-NPST-NEG
 ‘The light does not shine.’ [CLDLCh2R01S03. 0315]

Negative polar questions are also common in Chintang. Two examples of this type are given below:

- (8.17) a. *hana bhadau-kheʔŋa a-khat-no mahaʔ*
 2s Bhadau-ABL 2sS-go-NPST be.not
 ‘Aren’t you going from *bhadau*² on?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.530]
- b. *aseĩ khim-beʔ a-khad-e mahaʔ*
 before house-LOC 2sS-go-PST be.not
 ‘Didn’t you go home before?’ [ctn_aware.001]

8.2.3 Alternative type questions

Unlike the polar questions discussed above, alternative questions present two or more options for the reply. They expect a decision in answers from the alternatives that the speaker supplies, as exemplified in (8.18a,b).

² Bhadau (Nepali भदौ, also called Bhādra भाद्र) is the fifth month in the Bikram Samwat, the official Nepalese calendar. This month falls between August 17 and September 16 of the western calendar.

- (8.18) a. *to-ni khad-e elo mo-ni khad-e*
 DEM.UP-DIR [3sS]go-PST or DEM.DOWN-DIR [3sS]go-PST
 ‘Did he go up or down?’ [CLLDCh1R03S03 0562]
- b. *hana baddhe a-c-o-kko elo i-phuwa-ŋa baddhe c-o-kko*
 2s much 2sA-eat-3P-NPST or 2sPOSS-brother-ERG much eat-3P-NPST
 ‘Do you eat much (rice) or your brother?’ [CLLDCh1R02S01 0849]

In alternative questions, the second clause is not obligatory or not specified in many contexts when the addressee is familiar with the available choices in the particular situation. In most of the examples in our corpus, the alternative marker appears at the end of the sentence without the second alternative being stated, as shown in (8.19a,b).

- (8.19) a. *pheri=yaŋ khu-no=kha e*
 again=ADD carry-NPST=NMLZ₂ or
 ‘Is she pregnant again or (not)?’ (lit. Does she carry again?) [CLDLCh2R02S02.026]
- b. *i-keŋ tuk-no=ta elo*
 2sPOSS-tooth ache-NPST=IPFV₂ or
 ‘Is your teeth aching or (not)?’ [CLLDCh1R13S02.0008]

In a number of examples, the alternative marker *elo* also appears in the clause-initial position, functioning like a *yes / no*-questions. However, this is not a *yes / no*-question, but simply a repetitive alternative question. The examples in (8.20) are uttered by two different participants in a natural conversation, where the same speaker uses the alternative marker *elo* clause-finally for the first time and clause-initially when he has to repeat the same question again.

- (8.20) \Speaker CHKR
hana abo a-khat-no=kha elo
 2s now 2sS-go-NPST=NMLZ OR₂
 ‘Do you go now?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.338]
- \Speaker PR
hokkoi?
 ‘Where?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.339]

\Speaker CHKR
hokkoi? khic-e num-si a-khac-ce-ke=ta hola
 where take.picture-V.NTVZ do-PURP 2S-go-d-NPST=FOC₁ probably
 ‘Where do you (two) probably go to record?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.340]

\Speaker CHKR
elo a-khat-no
 OR 2sS-go-NPST
 ‘Do you go?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.341]

When there are two alternatives — one positive and the other negative, the positive alternative always precedes the negative one. There are no counter examples against this claim in the Chintang corpus. This is illustrated by the following example, where the positive alternation precedes the negative one:

(8.21) *kaʔtu wad-o-ko elo wad-o-ko-niŋ=kha*
 shorts wear-3P-NPST or wear-3P-NPST-NEG=NMLZ₂
 ‘Does he wear shorts or not?’ [CLLDCh1R01S04.316]

When both members of the disjunction are modifiers, they each are followed by the alternative marker *elo*.

(8.22) *naʔkali elo patali elo*
 fancy or slim or
 ‘Are you a fancy or a slim (girl)?’ [CLDLCh2R03S02. 007]

8.3 Coordination

The Kiranti languages make relatively little use of coordination, and generally prefer resorting to subordinating or sequencing strategies. There are only three coordination strategies available in Chintang: comitative with *-niŋ*, alternation with *elo* and juxtaposition. As I have already discussed them in 7.4.1–7.4.3, I will not describe them here again.

8.4 Experiencer constructions

The Indo-Aryan languages of the Himalayan region mark experiencers either as nominatives/ergatives or as datives (Bickel 2004a). Most of the Indo-Aryan languages of Nepal mark

single term: experiencer-as-goal constructions.

Besides experiencer-as-goal constructions, there are other experiential expressions where the experiencer is marked as the possessor of an affected body part or feeling. These constructions — what Bickel (2004a) calls experiencer-as-possessor — are attested all over the Kiranti languages. This type of construction is quite widespread in Chintang, too. Some examples of experiencer-as-possessor constructions are given below:

- (8.25) a. *a-taŋ* *tug-e*
 1sPOSS-head ache-PST
 ‘I have a headache.’ [CLLDCh2R04S04.0266]
- b. *ani-suma* *kaʔ-no*
 1piPOSS-lazy come.up-NPST
 ‘We feel lazy.’ [CLLDCh1R13S05.359]
- c. *i-laʃa* *kaʔ-no* *elo*
 2sPOSS-shy come.up-NPST or
 ‘Are you ashamed?’ [CLLDCh1R03S06. 611]
- d. *a-mik=lo* *id-a-d-e* *aniŋ=kina* *pho*
 1sPOSS-eye=SURP feel.sleepy-PST-COMPL₁-PST what=SEQ REP
 ‘I feel sleepy, I do not know why.’ [CLDLCh3R01S04.100a]
- (8.26) a. *u-suma* *kaiʔ-ma-ŋa* *etti=ta* *hekt-o-ŋs-e*
 3sPOSS-lazy come.up-INF-EMPH this.much=FOC₁ cut.grass-3P-PERF-PST
 ‘Feeling lazy, he has cut this much (grass).’ [CLLDCh1R06S03.0310]

- b. *theke* *i-mik* *mai-it-t-e* *e*
 why 2sPOSS-eye NEG-feel.sleepy-NEG-PST or
 ‘Why couldn’t you sleep?’⁴ [Elicited_2012]

8.5 Summary

Chintang is a verb-final language (SOV). In a basic declarative sentence all arguments normally precede the verb. The position of the verb is relatively fixed, but can be moved to the sentence initial position. The most frequent orders are SV, APV and AGTV, however, the reverse order is always possible. There are three different types of interrogative clauses: content question, polar question and alternative question. Interrogative pronouns can occur sentence initially, pre-verbally, or remain *in situ*. Chintang allows multiple questions (wh) in transitive clauses. In ditransitive clause, it is possible to question all three arguments, but all question words must occur *in situ*. However, there is no such restriction in transitive clauses. Polar questions are marked by focus particles at the end of the sentence. Alternative questions are stated with the alternative marker *elo*, but the marker *elo* can be dropped. The coordination strategy is not very productive in Chintang. Including juxtaposition, the comitative marker *-nij* and alternative particle *elo* are sometimes used to coordinate two elements. Unlike dative-marked experiencers of the Indo-Aryan languages (e.g. Nepali), there are nominative experiencers in Chintang, which trigger object agreement.

⁴ Although it is not a general feature of the Indo-Aryan languages, experience-as-possessor constructions are also found in a few Eastern Indo-Aryan languages like Bangla, Assamese, Oriya and Darai (Masica 1991, Bickel 2004a, Paudyal 2008).

- (8.27) Darai (Paudyal 2008)
 me-ra *pet* *botha-im*
 1s-POSS stomach hurt-1s
 ‘I have a stomach ache.’

In general, the dative experiencer subjects do not trigger agreement on the verb in Indo-Aryan languages (Bickel 2004a). The verb remains either in a third person masculine default form or it agrees with an another nominative argument what (Bickel 2004a) names ‘nominative stimulus argument’. But there are very few Eastern Indo-Aryan languages, such as Darai where the dative experiencer subject can also trigger verb agreement (Paudyal 2003, Paudyal 2008).

Chapter 9

Nominalization

9.0 Introduction

Nominalization is one of the highly productive phenomena of Tibeto-Burman languages (Matisoff 1972, Noonan 1997, Bickel 1999, Watters 2008, Genetti et al. 2008, 2011). The functions of nominalizers and nominalization constructions in these languages are often quite diverse and extended (Yap et al. 2011). In a number of Tibeto-Burman languages, including the Kiranti sub-group, nominalization is not limited to its standard function of deriving nominals from individual words of other classes, but it also applies to clausal and sentence-level elements alike. In fact, nominalization is a major tool for creating various types of syntactic structures, such as attributive phrases, relative clauses and complement clauses. In addition, there are nominalization constructions that often appear independently, which is a phenomenon commonly referred to as stand-alone or non-embedded nominalization (Bickel 1999; Watters 2008). These constructions are quite common across the Kirant area. There are a number of studies which deal with the various aspects and functions of nominalization in Tibeto-Burman languages. Matisoff (1972) was the first to point out the relationship between Nominalization, Relativization and Genitivization in Lahu,¹ where all these functions are expressed by a single particle *-ve*. This type of conformity of syntactic

¹ Lahu is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by the Lahu people of China, Thailand, Myanmar and Laos (Matisoff 1972).

functions in various Sino-Tibetan languages, including Kiranti languages, has been termed 'Standard Sino-Tibetan Nominalization' (SSTN in short) in Bickel (1999: 271).

Nominalization is a pervasive feature of many Kiranti languages, such as Limbu (Driem 1987), Camling (Ebert 1997b), Kulung (Tolsma 2006), Belhare (Bickel 1999), Thulung (Lahaussais 2002, 2003), and Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009). As in many other Kiranti languages, there are particularly three basic nominalizing morphemes in Chintang (Paudyal 2011). First is the nominalizer *ka-* *-pa* which has been referred to as 'active participle', the second one is an all-purpose 'general' nominalizer *=go*, and the last one is the nominalizer *=kha*. The active participle is a nominalizer that relativizes the S/A arguments of the clause. In Chintang the active participle requires a prefix *ka-* in addition to the suffix *-pa* (derived from TB **pa* Watters 2008), as in *ka-ca-pa* 'the one who eats' or *ka-thuk-pa* 'the one who cooks'.² The nominalizer *=go* is one of the most productive markers in Chintang. It can nominalize any verb, adjective, clause, adverbial or an individual utterance. The third nominalizer *=kha* works in a fashion very similar to *=go*. The major difference among *=go*, *=kha* and *ka-* is that *=go* and *=kha* appear with the finite form of the verb and can relativize all core and oblique arguments, whereas the active participle *ka-* *-pa* is a nonfinite form of the verb which relativizes only the S/A argument.

The purpose of this chapter is to present the extent of nominalization in Chintang. I basically concentrate on the syntactic aspects of clause nominalization. I also deal with sentential nominalizations at the end of the chapter.

9.1 Functions of nominalization in Chintang

As we stated above, Kiranti languages use the nominalization strategy extensively. Like in other Kiranti languages, nominalization in Chintang extends beyond its core function of deriving nominal items from non-nominals. Chintang "nominalization" is thus different from the standard process at both the starting and the end point, because its input is not necessarily a non-nominal and its output is not necessarily nominal (e.g. main clause

² The *-pa* suffix is optional in active participle constructions in Athpare and SE Camling, for example, in Athpare *ka-thuk=(ba)* 'cook', and in SE Camling *ka-dip=(pa)* 'blacksmith/one who beats'. But in some languages like Kulung, the active participle is formed by *-pa* alone, eg. *khai-pa* 'the one who is going'.

nominalization). For example, most of the lexical categories like nouns, adjectives,³ demonstratives and adverbs are usually nominalized. Such lexical nominalizations bear the same morphosyntactic characteristics as non-derived noun phrases, for example, a nominalized lexical element can further take a genitive marker *-ko*, plural marker *-ce* or an ergative marking suffix *-ŋa*, for example, *mi=go-ko-ce-ŋa*, small=NMLZ₁-GEN-ns-ERG 'the small ones'. As lexical nominalization is beyond the scope of this chapter, we deal with clausal and sentential nominalization and their specific functions in this section.

The syntactic schema of a nominalized clause can be represented as follows:

- (9.1) Schema of a nominalized clause in Chintang

$$[[NP_{0-n} \dots V]=NMLZ]_{NP}$$

Like non-nominalized clauses, a nominalized clause can have zero or more NPs. Other elements like adjectives, adverbials, or postpositions show up optionally. This is represented by dots (...) in the above schema in (9.1). The entire clause is nominalized with the clitic *=go*, which can then be case marked if necessary.

9.1.1 Relativization

Like in many other Kiranti languages, nominalization is the strategy to form relative clauses in Chintang. Actually, relativization is one of the major functions of nominalization. In Chintang there are a number of constructions which fulfill the same semantic role as relative clauses in many languages. However, none of these constructions are like the relative clauses found in English, but they are attributive clauses, which is an areal characteristic of the languages of Asia (Comrie 1998a). These attributive clauses are neither specialized for relativization nor is there any particular dedicated relativizer, but they include all types of clausal and non-clausal attributes and nominalizations. This is why, as in some other Kiranti languages, relativization is simply one specialized function of nominalization in Chintang.

³ Both the native and borrowed adjectives are obligatorily nominalized in Chintang, for example, *mi=go* [small=NMLZ]₁ 'the small one', (see §3.6 for an overview of Chintang adjectives).

9.1.1.1 Finite relativization with =go

In this type of relativization a finite verb is followed by the nominalizer =go. There is no restriction on the distribution of this marker; it can relativize any constituent of a relative clause. It appears mostly with the subjunctive form of the verb. Consider the following examples (9.2) - (9.9):

- (9.2) Rel-S
- a. *thab-a=go makcha khad-e*
 come.level-PST=NMLZ₁ brother.in.law [3sS]go-PST
 'The brother-in-law who had come went away.' [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *si-a=go sencak menuwa-ŋa c-o-he*
 die-PST=NMLZ₁ mouse cat-ERG [3sA]eat-3P-PST
 'The mouse that had died was eaten by the cat.' [Fieldwork_2010]
- (9.3) Rel-A
- a. *akka u-ten-a-ŋ=go maʔmi khad-e*
 1s 3sA-hit-PST-1sP=NMLZ₁ person [3sS]go-PST
 'The person who hit me went away.' [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *akka pempak u-pid-a-ŋ=go duwacha ti-e*
 1s bread 3sA-give-PST-1sP=NMLZ₁ boy [3sS]come-PST
 'The boy who gave me a bread came.' [Fieldwork_2010]
- (9.4) Rel experiencer A
- kocuwa u-kipma katt-o=go cha*
 dog 3sPOSS-fear come.up-3P=NMLZ₁ child
 'The child that is afraid of a dog.' [Fieldwork_2010]
- (9.5) Rel-P
- a. *ãh i-cha-kheʔŋa a-nis-u-wakt-o=go doŋdum-ce*
 FILLER 2sPOSS-child-ABL 2sA-know-3P-IMP-3P=NMLZ₁ matter-ns
- miʔmoŋ kha-siŋ-na-ʔã*
 little PRV-ask-1>2-NPST
- 'I ask you the events that you know from your childhood.' [warisama_talk.008]

- b. *akka ten-u-ŋ=go maʔmi si-e*
 1s hit-3P-1sA=NMLZ₁ person [3sS]die-PST
 ‘The person whom I hit died.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- (9.6) Rel-T
khed-u-tad-u-ŋs-u-ce=go kocuwa-ce
 buy-3P-bring-3P-PERF-3P-3nsP=NMLZ₁ dog-ns
ettiti u-ghoŋ-ce-ke
 this.much 3nsS-grow.tall-ns-NPST
 ‘The dogs which they brought grow this big.’ [talk01.019/020]
- (9.7) Rel-G
akka pempak pid-u-ŋ=go duwacha ti-e
 1s bread give-3P-1sA=NMLZ₁ boy [3sS]come-PST
 ‘The boy whom I gave the bread came.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- (9.8) a. Rel-LOC
sapphi=ta pukt-o-ko=go thaũ
 much=FOC₁ bear.fruit-3P-NPST=NMLZ₁ place
 ‘the place where we get a good harvest’ [phidang_talk.167]
- b. *i-ppa khad-a-ŋs-a=go-i? a-khat-no hana=yanj*
 2sPOSS-father go-PST-PERF-PST=NMLZ₁-FLOC 2sS-go-NPST 2s=ADD
 ‘Do you also go to the place where your father have gone?’ [CLLDCh1R13S02.1497]
- (9.9) Rel-Instrument
hui-sa-ŋa ghasa hekt-o=go kacce
 3s-OBL-ERG grass cut-3P=NMLZ₁ sickle
 ‘the sickle with which he cut the grass’ [Fieldwork_2010]

As stated previously, the nominalizer *=go* can relativize any core arguments and many obliques; there are no constraints in Chintang. The nominalizer *=go* relativizes S, as in (9.2), A, as in (9.3), an experiencer argument, as in (9.4), P, as in (9.5), T, as in (9.6), G, as in (9.7), location in (9.8), and instrument in (9.9). Most of the examples of *=go*-marked relative clauses show that Chintang relative clauses favor the finite form of the verb which is marked by the

- c. *yo* *a-bhale=yaŋ* *ok=go=yaŋ* *loĩ* *aŋ*
ACROSS.DEM 2sPOSS-cock=ADD cock.crow=NMLZ₁=ADD appear what
‘My crowing cock appears on the screen.’
 or
‘The crowing of my cock appears on the screen’ [CLDLCh3R01S02.002]

Examples (9.10a) and (9.10b) are the examples with internally headed P. (9.10c) is ambiguous – it could either be the internally headed relative clause with (S) as the head or an event nominalization.⁵ Example (9.10a) precisely illustrates a detransitivized evidence.

It should also be noted that *=go* marked relative clauses are headless most of the time, as in (9.11). According to the Chintang corpus, around 70% of the nominalized clauses do not contain an overt head. In my corpus count (both child language sessions and linguistic sessions), I found that only 67 utterances contain overt head out of 223 utterances. This shows that only 30.04% of the nominalized clauses contain an overt head and nearly 70% of the nominalized clauses remain headless in Chintang.⁶

- (9.11) a. *yo-ba* *cek-no=go*
 DEM.ACROSS-LOC speak-NPST=NMLZ₁
 ‘the one (who is) speaking there’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.1105]
- b. *mo-ba* *kali-ŋa* *nob-a-nd-o-ŋs-o=go*
 DEM.DOWN-LOC iron.age-ERG touch-PST-COMPL₂-3PPERF-3P=NMLZ₁
kaʔ-nok=ta
 come.up-NPST=IPFV₂
 ‘(The person) who had been affected by the Kali(yug) is coming up.’ [origin_myth.385]

⁵ There are some more clear examples of internally-headed relative clauses in the Chintang corpus ref. CLLDCh2R06S03.798, CLLDCh3R09S05.096 (with internally-headed P), and ref. CLLDCh4R03S04.199 (with internally-headed T). In addition to these, there is one more utterance (ref CLLDCh1R03S01.0790) which is strange because ‘the head’ (*sa*) is repeated both internally and externally. But I think this kind of construction qualifies as a speaker mistake, normally they wouldn't say it like this in an everyday speech.

⁶ While counting the headless nominalized clauses in the Chintang child language corpus, Kuhn (2010) found that 161 of 201 sentences are headless (=80%).

9.1.1.2 Relativization with =kha

=kha is attested in a number of Kiranti languages as a location marker. Like in other Kiranti languages, =kha relativizes on the location in Chintang, too. In this case, it is attached directly to stems (9.12a-c).⁷ The example in (9.12d) illustrates that =kha cannot be combined with inflected stems to relativize on location. As this type of locative relativization with =kha is attested in a number of Kiranti languages, some Kiranti linguists have suspected that it is etymologically derived from the noun *kham* meaning ‘soil, mud, earth’. However, =kha is not restricted to locative relativization in Chintang. There are quite a few examples in our corpus where it is attached to non-locative forms, like the nominalizer =go. This suggests that =kha has two functions in Chintang: one as a locative relativizer and another as a finite nominalizer which combines with both tense and person inflection suffixes in Chintang. Examples are given below:

- (9.12) a. *ca=kha* *thaũ*
eat=NMLZ₂ place
‘the place where people eat’ [rana_pilgrim.097]
- b. *im=kha* *thaũ=kina* *thiŋs-a-k-e-hẽ*
sleep=NMLZ₂ place=SEQ spread-PST-IPFV₁-PST-1sS.PST
‘I used to make bed where one sleeps.’ [ctn_katha.062]
- c. *ne=kha* *thaũ=ta*
read=NMLZ₂ place=FOC₁
‘the place where someone reads’ [warisama_talk.350]
- d. **pid-u-ŋ=kha* *thaũ*
give-3P-1sA=NMLZ₂ place
Intended meaning: ‘the place where I gave’ [Elicitation_2013]

⁷ Ebert (1997a) has a similar category which she describes as a ‘patientive noun’ (in short glossed as PN) in her description of Camling, *ca-kha*, food-PN ‘food’. But as it cannot be used adnominally, it may not be a true participle.

- (9.13) a. *akka paile kha-u-dis-u-hẽ=kha=lo*
 1s before see-3P-TEL-3P-PST=NMLZ₂=SURP
 ‘the one which I saw before’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.0359]
- b. *kocuw-ŋa nept-o-ŋs-o=kha*
 dog-ERG bite-3P-PERF-3P=NMLZ₂
 ‘the one which a dog has bitten’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.0754]
- c. *baddhe em mund-u-m-niŋ=kha ghatna-ce*
 very FILLER forget-3P-1pA-NEG=NMLZ₂ event-ns
 ‘many incidences which we cannot forget’ [sadstory_RM.003]

Example (9.12a-c) illustrate that =*kha* is combined with stems to relativize on location, whereas (9.13a) shows it with the indicative past form to relativize an object. Like the nominalizer =*go*, =*kha* also favors the subjunctive form of the verbs. Example like (9.13a) is not widespread in the Chintang corpus. The =*kha* nominalizer relativizes exclusively on a general issue, for example, an unspecified location; it does not make reference to the place where you or we eat, but indicates a general location for eating. When such specification is desired the =*go* nominalizer must be used, as in (9.14).

- (9.14) *ned-u-ŋ=go iskul hod-a-d-a-ŋs-e*
 study-3P-1sA=NMLZ₁ school destroy-PST-COMPL₁-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘The school where I studied has been destroyed.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

9.1.1.3 Active participle *ka-*

The active participle construction is formed with the prefix *ka-* which is attached to any type of verb root in Chintang. But unlike in some other Kiranti languages, at the same time, sex marking suffixes *-pa* (unmarked) and *-ma* (for female referents) also appear with the same verbal root, and can then be case-marked. The participle basically refers to the “doer” of the action, e.g. the active participle of the verb ‘work’ has the meaning of ‘worker’.

This is the only type of active participle in Chintang.⁸ It is attested extensively both in day-to-day speech and in the ritual variety of Chintang. Unlike the nominalizer =*go* and =*kha* which relativize all core and oblique arguments, it relativizes only the S or A arguments regardless of their semantic roles. But like in =*go* clauses, head nouns are not necessary with active participles.

The examples in (9.15) illustrate *ka-* nominalization with monovalent verbs. In these examples, (9.15a) and (9.15b) refer to the actor and (9.15c) refers to the patient semantic role.

- (9.15) a. *ka-phaĩ-pa*
ACT.PTCP-walk-M
'one who walks' [sadstory_RM.167]
- b. *ka-im-pa* *sa-lo=kha*
ACT.PTCP-sleep-M who-NOM=NMLZ₂
'Who is sleeping?' [Fieldwork_2010]
- c. *asinda* *ka-si-ppa* *nis-u-ku-ŋ-niŋ*
yesterday ACT.PTCP-die-M know-3P-NPST-1sA-NEG
'I do not know the man who died yesterday' [Fieldwork_2010]

With transitive and ditransitive verbs, *ka-* nominalizes the A argument, as in (9.16a-c). However, some ditransitive verbs can also nominalize G arguments, as in (9.16d). It is impossible to nominalize T arguments in this way (9.16e).

- (9.16) a. *ka-khui?-pa* *ni*
ACT.PTCP-steal-M FOC₂
'the one who steals, (the thief)' [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *biu* *ka-tok-pa-ŋa=lo* *tis-u-ce* *naŋ*
seed ACT.PTCP-get-M-ERG=SURP [3sA]put-3P-3nsP BUT
'The person who has seed may plant.' [CLLDCh1R04S06.1043]

⁸ Some Kiranti language, such as Yamphu, have two types of agent participles; they distinguish between a time-stable trait of a referent (e.g. farmer 'those who work in field as their occupation') and a single action attribute (e.g. speaker 'one who speaks now').

- c. *sencikha* *tojlekha* *ka-pi-pa*
 heaven heaven ACT.PTCP-give-M
 ‘the one who gives heaven (to us)’ [wal_yupung02.247]
- d. *citthi* *ka-tak-pa* *ma?mi* *bhojpur-be* *yun-no*
 letter ACT.PTCP-receive-M person Bhojpur-LOC [3sS]be-NPST
 ‘The person who receives the letter is in Bhojpur.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- e. **dharan* *ka-hay-(pa)* *sontology*
 Dh. ACT.PTCP-send-(M) orange
 intended: ‘orange to send to Dharan’ [Fieldwork_2010]

Bickel (2004b) reports that the active participle in Belhare, which is cognate to Chintang, can also mark experiencer arguments, illustrated in (9.17). This holds true for Chintang as well. In example (9.18a-d), *ka-* selects the experiencer argument even though it is not marked like a typical S/A argument. In this case, the argument which undergoes nominalization does not necessarily need to be agentive; it only needs to be more agentive than the other arguments, following the actor animacy hierarchy (Bickel 2004a).

- (9.17) Belhare (Bickel 2004b)
 ka-lim-ba *ma?mi*
 ACT.PTCP-delicious-M person
 ‘a person to whom (the beer) is delicious’
- (9.18) a. *sijsawa* *ka-si-pa*
 hunger ACT.PTCP-die-M
 ‘one who is dying of hunger’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- b *cunwa* *ka-si-pa*
 fever ACT.PTCP-die-M
 ‘the one who has fever’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- c. *kocuwa* *u-ki?ma* *ka-kai?-pa* *cha*
 dog 3s.POSS-fear ACT.PTCP-come.up-M child
 ‘A child that is afraid of a dog.’ [Schikowski p.c.]

- d. *arkha-ŋa ka-seiʔ-pa maʔmi*
 alcohol-INSTR ACT.PTCP-kill-M person
 ‘the person whom alcohol killed’ [Fieldwork_2010]

In some examples in our corpus, the active participle is also used to modify another noun, as in (9.19).

- (9.19) *ki-na-haʔ-no=ta jhullu ka-lu-pa maʔmi*
 fall.down-NA-COMPL₁-NPST=FOC₁ swing ACT.PTCP-do-M person
 ‘The person who swings, falls down!’ [CLDLCh3R01S02.247]

Unlike in some Kiranti languages, such as Puma (Schackow 2008), where the S/A argument needs to be animate, in Chintang the active participle is also used with inanimate instruments which function like an instigator of an action. An example of this type is given in (9.20).

- (9.20) *cakhaŋ ka-yap-ma=na batta=kha yuŋ-no*
 a.kind.of.porridge ACT.PTCP-serve-F=TOP big=NMLZ₂ [3sS]be-NPST
 ‘The spoon to serve porridge is big.’ [CLLDCh4R04S06.1503b]

It is also possible to negate the active participle. But this is a very rare phenomenon in Chintang, and it has not been noted in other Kiranti languages. The active participle in Chintang is negated in exactly the same way as clauses, with a preverbal prefix *mai-*, as in (9.21). In this example, we can also change the order of the negative prefix *mai-* and the active participle *ka-* without altering the meaning of the clause, as predicted by free prefix ordering in Chintang (cf. Bickel et al. 2007).

- (9.21) a. *ra utti-ghari jamma mai-ka-hap-pa mo=go*
 CONJ then-moment all NEG-ACT.PTCP-cry-M CIT=NMLZ₁
 [sadstory_RM.153]
- b. *ra utti-ghari jamma ka-mai-hap-pa mo=go*
 CONJ then-moment all ACT.PTCP-NEG-cry-M CIT=NMLZ₁
 Both: ‘someone who was not crying at that time’ [Fieldwork_2010]

- (9.22) *ani-rɨŋ* *mai-ka-ni-pa-ce*
 1pi.POSS-language NEG-ACT.PTCP-know-M-ns
 ‘those who do not know our language’ [Durga_Exp.12]

The sex markers *-pa/-ma* are not obligatory elements of the active participle in Chintang. If the verb stem is followed by any types of suffixes, the *-pa/-ma* can simply be dropped without altering the meaning. There are few examples where the active participle *ka-* appears without the sex marker *-pa/-ma*, but with the number marker *-ce* or the ergative marker *-ŋa*, as in (9.23a-c) and (9.23d), respectively.

- (9.23) a. *acikali* *ka-ko-ce=na*
 nowadays ACT.PTCP-roam-ns=TOP
 ‘the ones who roam in these days’ [RM_JK_talk01.072]
- b. *ha-iʔ=go* *ka-khip-ce=go*
 DEM.PROX-FLOC=NMLZ₁ ACT.PTCP-read-ns=NMLZ₁
 ‘the ones who study here’ [Student_life.006]
- c. *dukha* *ka-num-ce* *mai-u-ta-la-t-a-ŋs-e*
 trouble ACT.PTCP-do-ns NEG-3nsS-come-TEL-NEG-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘The trouble makers have not come yet.’ [CLLDCh2R02S06.034]
- d. *boka* *mai-ka-hi-ŋa*
 he.goat NEG-ACT.PTCP-be.able.to-ERG
 ‘he who is unable (to offer) a he-goat’ [origin_myth.439]

Interestingly, when there is neither a nominalizer nor a number marker suffix on the verb, then there must be an overt noun in the clause, i.e. there must be an obligatory head noun in the context of suffix-less participles. In example (9.24), the active participle *ka-* is prefixed to a verb root *num* ‘do’ which does not have any other marking on the verb but modifies the noun *maʔmi*. This sentence would be ungrammatical without the overt noun *maʔmi*, as shown in (9.24b).

- (9.24) a. *huĩ bela pad-e ka-num maʔmi manchi*
 DEM time study-V.NTVZ ACT.PTCP-do person not
 ‘At that time there were no educated persons.’ [LH_BBB.128]
- b. **huĩ bela pad-e ka-num manchi*
 DEM time study-V.NTVZ ACT.PTCP-do not
 Intended: ‘At that time there were no educated (persons).’

As stated earlier, the participle *ka-* cannot relativize the P argument in Chintang. Like in most of the Kiranti languages only the S and A arguments can be relativized with this marker in Chintang. Verbal categories, such as mood/tense and aspect, are always absent from the active participle, but negation can typically be expressed. Athpare, unlike Chintang and other Kiranti languages, appears to be unusual in this case and also marks the person of the patient with the active participle, for example, *a-ka-lem* ‘one who beats me’ (Ebert 1997a).

9.1.1.4 Nominalized infinitival relative clauses

The majority of the western Kiranti languages nominalize the infinitival form of the verb with *-pa/-ma*, which nominalizes objects, events, instruments, and goals with obligative semantics. But this is not true for the Eastern Kiranti languages, for example, Chintang employs *=go* for the same purpose. In this case, the nominalizer is attached directly to the infinitival form of the verb and relativizes everything except S/A arguments.

The data in (9.25a) illustrates an example from Puma which uses the Pan-Kiranti *-pa* nominalizer with infinitives. But Chintang reserves the *-pa/-ma* nominalizers only for active participle clauses as discussed in the previous section. (9.25b) shows an ungrammatical clause with *=pa* nominalizer in Chintang. In example (9.26a), the P argument is relativized, in (9.26b) the T argument, and in (9.26c) the G argument is the goal of relativization. Example (9.27) relativizes an instrument.

- (9.25) a. Puma (Schackow 2008)
chap-ma=pa
 write-INF=NMLZ
 ‘something that has to be written with, pen’

- b. **kip-ma=pa*
 cut-INF=NMLZ
 ‘something that is used for cutting, sickle’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- (9.26) a. *seiʔ-ma-dheĩ-ma=go* *phak* *in-a-nd-u-hẽ*
 kill-INF-COMPL₂-INF=NMLZ₁ pig sell-PST-COMPL₂-3P-1sA.PST
 ‘I sold the pig that has to be killed.’ (because it was ill) [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *haŋ-ma=go-ce* *yũŋs-u-c-a*
 send-INF=NMLZ₁-ns keep-3P-ns-IMP
 ‘Please keep (the letters) that has to be sent.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- c. *khaiʔ-ma=go* *khim* *khaŋ-u-hẽ*
 go-INF=NMLZ₁ house see-3P-1sA.PST
 ‘I saw the house where we have to go.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- (9.27) a. *kip-ma=go*
 cut-INF=NMLZ₁
 ‘something that is used for cutting, sickle’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *chap-ma=go*
 write-INF=NMLZ₁
 ‘something that is used for writing, pen’

In short, the nominalizer *=go* relativizes only P-arguments and instruments when it appears with the infinitival form of the verb. Like in the other cases, the nominalized infinitival form of the verb can be inflected for number marking, as already shown in (9.26b).

9.1.1.5 Interim Summary

Thus far we have seen that various types of nominalizers are used to relativize both core and oblique arguments in Chintang. The following table presents a brief summary of the findings related to the various types of nominalizers in Chintang.

Form	Gloss	Function
= <i>go</i>	NMLZ ₁	relativizes all core arguments (S, A, P, T, and G) and obliques
= <i>kha</i>	NMLZ ₂	relativizes all core arguments (S, A, P, T, and G) and obliques
<i>ka-</i> (<i>-pa</i>)	ACT.PTCP	relativizes only S/A arguments
= <i>ma=go</i>	INF=NMLZ ₁	relativizes only P, T, G and instruments

Tables 9.1: Function of various types of nominalizers

9.1.2 Clause nominalization

Apart from the relative clause discussed in §9.1.1, there are some other clauses which are frequently, but not regularly, nominalized in Chintang. This includes temporal and complement clauses.⁹ In this process, the entire clause is nominalized with the general nominalizer =*go*, which then allows the clause to function as a noun phrase.

Temporal clauses marked with borrowed conjunctions, such as *samma* ‘until’, *taim* ‘time’, *pachi* ‘later’ or *bela* ‘at the time’, are frequently nominalized in Chintang.

- (9.28) a. *akka nis-u-ŋ=go samma lud-u-ku-ŋ*
 1s know-3P-1sA=NMLZ₁ TERM tell-3P-NPST-1sA
 ‘I will tell you as far as I know.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *hun-ce u-yuŋ=go taim-be akka hun-ce khai?-ya=kina*
 3-ns 3nsS-be=NMLZ₁ time-LOC 1s 3-ns go-1sS=SEQ

cind-u-ku-ŋ-c-u-ŋ
 teach-3P-NPST-1sA-3nsP-1sA
 ‘I teach them (the children) while they are there.’ [Durga_job.115]
- c. *huŋ=go-i?-ya waŋ-i-ŋa=go pachi*
 DEM=NMLZ₁-LOC-ABL enter-p-e=NMLZ₁ after

trisuli-be tha-i-ŋ-e-hě
 trisuli-LOC get.down-p PST-1s.PST
 ‘After we got on the bus there, we got off at Trisuli.’ [tangera_03.050]

⁹ But this is not a general feature of temporal and complement clauses; there are also particles, such as *kina*, *gari* or *bela* that attach to non-nominalized clauses.

- d. *kani-ŋa* *cekt-u-m=go* *bela* *jamma* *kob-o-ko*
 1pi-ERG speak-3P-1nsA=NMLZ₁ time all [3sA]pick.up-3P-NPST
 ‘It records all when we speak.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

Lahaussais (2002) states that temporal clauses marked with borrowed conjunctions (*pachi* ‘after’, and *samma* ‘until’) are consistently nominalized in Thulung, a western Kiranti language. But this is not the case in Chintang (cf. non-nominalized temporal clauses in §11.2.5).

Some examples of nominalized complement clause are give in (9.29a) and (9.29b). This is described in detail in §10.2.2.

- (9.29) a. *hana* *a-ims-a=go* *nis-u-k-u-ŋ*
 2s 2sS-sleep-PST=NMLZ₁ know-3P-NPST-3P-1sA
 ‘I know that you slept.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *a-kam-ce-niŋ* *khel-a* *numd-i-ŋa=go*
 1sPOSS-friend-ns-COM play-N.NTVZ do-p-e=NMLZ₁

mitt-u-ŋ-sed-u-hē
 remember-3P-1sA-kill-3P-1sS.PST
 ‘I remembered that I played a game with my friends.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

The most common nominal category acquired by the nominalized predicate is case the ergative *-ŋa* in Chintang. There are a large number of examples in the Chintang corpus where the nominalizer *=go* is followed by the ergative *-ŋa*.

9.1.3 Sentence nominalization

Apart from its occurrence in embedded clauses, the nominalizer *=go*, and less frequently, also the nominalizer *=kha* can also occur in the sentence final position. This type of nominalization, which nominalizes a full sentence rather than an element or a clause, is attested in many, if not all, Tibeto-Burman languages. It is often referred to as ‘non-embedded’ or ‘stand-alone’ nominalization in some of the literature on Tibeto-Burman (e.g. Bickel 1999, Watters 2008, Genetti 2011). These constructions are attested across the Kiranti family. In Chintang, it is found both in conversational exchange, as well as in narratives. In

this case the nominalized verb behaves like a finite verb. Unlike nominalized relative clauses, which generally take a non-inflected subjunctive form of the verb, sentential nominalization allows a wide range of possibilities. In particular, there are two ways of forming nominalized sentences in Chintang: either the nominalizer is attached to the fully-inflected verb (9.30a-c) or to the subjunctive form of the verb (without the final tense marker *-e*, *-no*, *-ko*), i.e. nominalization can occur either in the indicative or the subjunctive mood. Nominalization in indicative non-past is quite frequent in the Chintang corpus. But nominalization in indicative past tense is less common in the Chintang corpus, as in (9.31a,b). Nominalization in subjunctive past is a typical feature of Chintang. Examples like in (9.32a-c) are very common in the Chintang corpus.

- (9.30) a. *ah phidaŋ=yaŋ yaŋs-o-ko=go*
 FILLER ginger=ADD grow-3P-NPST=NMLZ₁
 ‘Ginger also grows.’ [phidang_talk.156]
- b. *rame a-phuwa mahila-be kok ca-no=go*
 R. 1sPOSS-brother mahila-LOC rice eat-NPST=NMLZ₁
 ‘Ram eats rice at my brother mahila’s place.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- c. *copt-u-kh-o yo paile to om-no=go*
 see-3P-CON-3P DEM.ACROSS first DEM.UP bright-NPST=NMLZ₁
 ‘Please look one which lights first.’ [CLLDCh4R02S01.221]
- (9.31) a. *utti=lagi=ta yuw-a-ŋs-e=go*
 that.much-DAT=FOC₁ be -PST-PERF-PST=NMLZ₁
 ‘S/he stayed for that (one).’ [CLDLCh3R01S04.116]
- b. *budhi lis-a-d-a-ŋs-e=go them=na abo*
 old.woman be-PST-COMPL₁-PST-PERF-PST=NMLZ₁ what=TOP now
 ‘She became an old woman now.’ [CLLDCh3R07S01. 232]
- (9.32) a. *ek bet-e=yaŋ ma-thaĩ-yokt-o-ŋs-o=go*
 one number.of.time-ADJLZ=ADD NEG-fall.down-NEG-3P-PERF-3P=NMLZ₁
 ‘It has not borne (its piglet) even once.’ [CLLDCh1R03S01.0719]

- b. *asinda birami khu-si khad-a=go*
 yesterday patient carry-PURP go-PST=NMLZ₁
 ‘He had gone to carry a patient yesterday.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.086]
- c. *huĩ a-cek-a=go elo*
 DEM 2sS-say-PST=NMLZ₁ or
 ‘That was said by you, right?’ [CLLDCh2R02S06.1208]

Like some other Kiranti languages, Chintang also nominalizes questions, as shown in (9.33). Bickel (1999) treats nominalized questions as focus constructions in the neighboring language Belhare. Hargreaves (1986) notices similar non-embedded nominalized questions in Kathmandu Newar. He says that in comparison to non-nominalized questions, nominalized questions are less interrogatory and are used for politeness.

In Chintang, similar to what Bickel (1999) observes in the neighboring language Belhare, nominalized questions are used mostly to cast focus. Like in Belhare (Bickel *ibid.*), nominalized questions are generally used to trigger controversy in Chintang.

- (9.33) a. *sa-lo=kha naŋ huĩ meĩ luŋtak-be yu-wakt-a=go*
 who-NOM=NMLZ₂ BUT DEM FILLER stone-LOC be-PST-IPFV₁-PST=NMLZ₁
 ‘Who was sitting on that stone (near the field)?’ (If Saĩla was not on his field yesterday) [CLDLCh2R02S02.227]
- b. *sa-lo to-patti=go yuŋ-no=go*
 who-NOM DEM.UP-DIR₁=NMLZ₁ be-NPST=NMLZ₁
 ‘Who is sitting up there?’ (He is blocking the view) [CLDLCh3R01S02.233]
- c. *sa-lo wasuri-be chep-mu-no=go*
 who-NOM eaves-LOC urinate-urinate-NPST=NMLZ₁
 ‘Who urinates from the eaves (of a house)?’ (one should not urinate from eaves of the house) [Fieldwork_2010]

In (9.33a) the speaker contradicts one of addressees who said that no one was on the field yesterday. He thinks that the addressee has no choice other than accepting his statement: ‘Saĩla was in the field yesterday.’

Besides the nominalization of content questions, there is also a tendency to nominalize alternative questions in Chintang. The particle *elo* is a special type of question marker, which helps the speaker to offer alternatives to the addressee.

- (9.34) a. *ti-ma=go* *elo* *yoŋ-ma=go*
 load-INF=NMLZ₁ or move-INF=NMLZ₁
 ‘Is it the one which is here or the one which is moved away?’
 [CLLDCh4R14S03.171]
- b. *cedar* *tha?-no=ko* *elo*
 tin be.visible-NPST=NMLZ₁ or
 ‘The tin that has been seen or (something else)?’ [CLLDCh3R08S05.0188]

Like the nominalizer *=go*, *=kha* is also used to nominalize questions. But *=kha* is less frequent in interrogatives in the Chintang corpus than *=go*.

- (9.35) *ba* *kocuwa* *sa-lo* *ca-no=kha*
 DEM.PROX dog who-NOM eat-NPST=NMLZ₂
 ‘Who eats this dog?’ (we don’t.) [CLDLCh3R01S02.279]
- (9.36) *caudhari* *khad-a=kha* *elo*
 Caudhari go-PST=NMLZ₂ or
 ‘Has Caudhari gone or (not)?’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.1315]

Like in other Kiranti languages, the sentence final particle *raicha*, a mirative particle borrowed from Nepali, is preceded by nominalized verbs in Chintang. In Chintang this particle can be preceded by both the nominalizers *=kha* and *=go*. Bickel (1999) and Ebert (1997a) also report for Athpare and Belhare respectively that the borrowed particle *raicha* is usually preceded by a nominalized verb form. But it is not very common to nominalize mirative constructions in Chintang. According to the corpus, out of 593 mirative clauses, there are only 10 clauses where the mirative marker *raicha* follows the nominalized clause.

- (9.37) a. *kanci* *hai-ma=kko* *raicha*
 1d talk-INF=NMLZ₁ MIR
 ‘It seems the one which we (had) talked about!’ [tanger_a_05.013]

- b. asinda u-bheni si-a-d-a=go raicha
 yesterday 3sPOSS-morning die-PST-COMPL₁-PST=NMLZ₁ MIR
 ‘It seems it died yesterday morning!’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- (9.38) tara huŋ=go maŋmi-ŋa=ta iss-a-nd-o-ŋs-o=kha
 but DEM=NMLZ₁ person-ERG=FOC₁ damage-PST-COMPL₂-3P-PERF-3P=NMLZ₂
 raicha
 MIR
 ‘But it seems that person does damage!’ [story_DKR_01.290]

Besides the mirative construction, the citation and reportative particle *mo* and *pho* are also added sometimes after nominalized sentences in Chintang. But these types of sentences are extremely rare in the entire corpus. There are very few examples in our corpus where the citation particle *mo* follows the nominalizer, as in (9.39). In comparison to *mo*, *pho* is more common in our corpus. *pho* favors infinitival (9.40) and indicative clauses (9.41). There are no examples where *pho* appears with the nominalized subjunctive form of a verb.

- (9.39) a. ba-ta=kha akka yuŋ-ŋa-ŋã=go mo
 DEM.PROX-FOC₁=NMLZ₂ 1s be-1sS-NPST=NMLZ₁ CIT
 ‘This is the place where I live.’ [kazi_trip_talk.146]
- b. athom kha-m-c-u-m=go mo
 before see-1nsA-3nsP-3P-1nsA=NMLZ₁ CIT
 ‘the one which we saw before’ [CLLDCh2R10S04. 441]
- (9.40) a. peŋluŋ phaŋ-ma=go pho
 mat weave-INF=NMLZ₁ REP
 ‘She said, “she will weave a mat.”’ [CLLDCh2R10S08.352]
- b. u-lawa sam-ma=go pho
 3sPOSS-soul part-INF=NMLZ₁ REP
 ‘(They said that) his soul will be separate.’ [CLLDCh4R06S01.500]
- (9.41) a. uth te-no=ko pho
 wake.up.IMP.LOW beat-NPST=NMLZ₁ REP
 ‘Wake up, (they said), he will beat.’ [CLLDCh1R08S03. 084]

- b. *mai-chap-no=go* *pho* *mai=ta-chap-no* *pho* *ni*
 iP-write-NPST=NMLZ₁ REP iP=FOC₁-write-NPST REP FOC₂
 ‘He said he will write to us what he will write to us.’ [CLDLCh3R01S03.438]
 लेखेकोलाई लेख्छु नै रे नि ।

As I have mentioned above, the nominalizer =go can also be followed by an oblique and ergative cases, as in (9.42). In this example, the ergative covers the meaning of causal, and this construction is very similar to what Comrie (1998b) calls fact-S construction.

- (9.42) *keceŋceĩwa* *u-ratt-a-ce=go-sa-ŋa* *them*
 IDEOPH 3nsS-make.noise-PST-3nsP=NMLZ₁-OBL-ERG what
 ‘what (comes) from the fact that they make this noise’ [CLLDCh3R08S01.0321]

Nominalization of an utterance is a common tendency found in both Kiranti and non-Kiranti Tibeto-Burman languages. Since Matisoff (1972), it has been studied by a number of scholars. However, there are no two descriptions which seem to agree on the semantic and pragmatic function of this construction (Watters 2008). Matisoff himself called this “reification” when he described such clauses in Lahu (Loloish). Later, Hargreaves (1986) described the nominalization strategy in Newar, especially nominalized questions, and described their function as to create ‘politeness’. Rutgers (1998) for Yamphu and Opgenort (2004) for Wambule also report that sentential nominalization is used for ‘settings’ and marking ‘background’ events. However, Bickel (1999) describes for the neighboring language Belhare that sentential nominalization is used to mark focus, especially ‘contrastive focus’. Chintang is closer to Belhare in this respect.

9.2 Summary

Nominalization is a multi-functional tool found across almost all Kiranti languages, including Chintang. In many Kiranti languages, if not all, nominalization is extended beyond its standard function of deriving nominals from non-nominal items. Actually nominalization is found at almost all levels of the grammar, i.e. it converts (all) verbs and adverbials into nominals, it marks adjectives, demonstratives, participles, relative clauses, and complement clauses. Nominalization in Chintang is thus different from the standard concept of nominalization, because its input is not necessarily non-nominal and its output is not necessarily nominal (e.g. headed relative clauses). Although nominalization is found at all

levels of Chintang grammar, derivation of nouns from non-nominals or nominals occupies a *dime* role. A significant role of nominalization is seen in various subordinate clauses and in free-standing sentences.

In particular, there are three nominalizing morphemes in Chintang. The first one is an all-purpose 'general' nominalizer *=go*, which can relativize all core arguments and some obliques. The second nominalizer, however, described as an active participle in this thesis, can relativize only the S/A arguments. Finally, the third one, *=kha*, relativizes on location, as in other Kiranti languages — but extends beyond that to function similar to those of *=go*.

Chapter 10

Complementation

10.0 Introduction

Complement clauses are those subordinate clauses which are arguments of verbs (Noonan 2007, Cristofaro 2003, Stiebels 2007). In many languages certain verbs — notably ‘see’, ‘hear’, ‘know’, ‘believe’, ‘like’, ‘tell’, ‘want’ and so on, can take a clause, instead of an NP, as a core argument (Dixon 2006). Syntactically, there are three major types of complement clauses in Chintang. The first type is the infinitival clause, which is the most productive one, the second one is the nominalized complement clause, introduced by the all purpose nominalizer =*go*, and the third one is the *mo*-complement clause, introduced by the citation particle *mo*. Besides these three types of clauses, there is another minor type of complement clause which can be referred to as *samma*-complement clause. The *samma* complement clause is not very frequent, but it does occur in the Chintang corpus. The first two complement clause types occur in all core argument roles, while the *mo*-complement clauses and *samma*-complement clauses only fill the P of the transitive and the T slot of the ditransitive matrix verb. One of the most interesting features of Chintang complement clauses is that in infinitival complement clauses, unlike in English, where the controller (lexical NP) is always realized in the matrix clause and the controllee (PRO, the null element) in the embedded clause, in Chintang the situation is reversed. With quite a few predicates, the controller (overtly) appears in the embedded clause and the controllee occurs in the matrix clause. This type of phenomenon is described as an example of Reverse Equi (Kuroda 1965, cited in Subbārāo 2012), or backward

control (Polinsky & Potsdam 2002a) in Tsez, a Dagestanian language of the Caucasus.¹ Another interesting feature is that the matrix verb agrees with a constituent inside the verb's clausal complement, namely, with the subject and the direct object of the infinitive. This phenomenon is referred to as a long-distance agreement (LDA) in various literature.² This type of agreement behavior is quite unusual cross-linguistically, and challenges previous linguistic theories which assume that a local relationship is necessary for agreement. In Chintang, the long-distance agreement can only involve arguments of infinitival clauses. There is also agreement on infinitives, for example *-ce*. However, there is no long-distance agreement in other types of complement clauses, for example in nominalized complement clauses. The NPs that triggers long-distance agreement can be either S/A arguments or P arguments of the embedded clause. Furthermore, there are some instances where the A and the G arguments of the embedded ditransitive verb jointly trigger agreement in the matrix verb, yielding LDA for both arguments concurrently (cf. 10.11a). Besides this, unlike in the forward control strategy where the embedded verb cannot assign overt case to its arguments, in backward control the embedded subjects are case-marked in Chintang.

In this chapter, I describe the various semantic types of verbs which take complement clauses, with respect to their complementation patterns and control properties. Section 10.1 deals with verbs taking infinitives. In the same section, I illustrate the two unusual features of Chintang, i.e. backward control and long-distance agreement phenomena with relevant examples. Section 10.2 deals with the nominalized complement clause and §10.3 complement clauses with the case marker *samma*. The *mo*-complement clauses are described in §12.2.6, together with other particles, so I do not include it in this chapter.

¹ Though backward control is cross-linguistically a rare phenomenon, it has been claimed for a number of other languages, such as Japanese (Harada 1973), Korean (Monahan 2003), Malagasy (Polinsky & Potsdam 2002b), and Hindi-Urdu (Bhatt 2005, Butt 2008).


² Long-distance agreement is not unique to Chintang. It is reported to be found in other South Asian languages, for example in Hindi/Urdu (Bhatt 2005, Butt 2008), Kashmiri and Maithili (Subbārāo 2012). This phenomenon is previously attested and described in many Dagestanian languages (Polinsky & Potsdam 2002b, Haspelmath 1999, among others). But it has not been reported in any other Kiranti language except in Puma (Schackow 2008).

10.1 Embedded infinitives

Unlike in some other languages, Kiranti infinitives license the full range of overt arguments (Bickel et al. 2010). There is no obligatory deletion of any arguments in the infinitival clauses. Thus, infinitive complements behave on a par with finite complements with respect to case assignment and word order. Chintang has several verbs which take an infinitival clause as their argument. As I mentioned above, an interesting feature of infinitival complements is that most of the embedded verbs allow their arguments to trigger agreement in the matrix verb, yielding long-distance agreement. Argument sharing is an essential feature of infinitival clauses; the S/A arguments indexed in the matrix verb must be coreferential with the S/A arguments of the embedded clause. In Chintang, raising is possible only in infinitival complement clauses. It seems there is no restriction on raising. All arguments (A, S, P, T, and G) of the dependent clause can be raised in Chintang. The raised argument always triggers agreement in the matrix verb. Generally only one NP could be raised at a time. However, there are some examples where the A-agreement is obligatorily accompanied by P-agreement in LDA, so it would seem that it is also possible to raise two NPs at a time (cf. 10.6a').

(10.1) shows the basic pattern of infinitival complement clauses, and table 10.1 lists verbs that take an infinitival complement clause in Chintang. In the following section, the complement taking predicates are classified and described in detail in terms of their semantics and syntactic behavior

(10.1) Basic Pattern (Bickel 2008a)

$[(X) \text{ V-INF}] \text{ V}_{\text{[light]}} \text{ - agr.}$


[verb-stems]	gloss
<i>lapt-</i>	‘be about to’
<i>kond-</i>	‘want’, ‘must’
<i>hid-</i>	‘finish, be able to’
<i>lis-</i>	‘be’
<i>pungs-</i>	‘start to’
<i>mitt-</i>	‘think, remember’
<i>lemd-</i>	‘persuade’
<i>latt-</i>	‘be enough’
<i>les-</i>	‘like’
<i>nis-</i>	‘know’
<i>mund-</i>	‘forget’
<i>chitt-</i>	‘find time’
<i>tok-</i>	‘get’
<i>led-</i>	‘give up’
<i>nad-</i>	‘refuse to’
<i>phind-</i>	‘start to’
<i>kaŋs-</i>	‘agree’
<i>ond-</i>	‘instigate’

Table 10.1: Infinitival complement taking verbs in Chintang

10.2.1.1 Phasal predicates

Phasal predicates refer to the phase of an act or state, i.e. inception, continuation or termination of an event (Noonan 2007). There are two common phasal predicates in Chintang: *lapt-* ‘be about to’ and *pungs-* ‘start’.

lapt- ‘be about to’

This is an ambitransitive verb which can be inflected both intransitively and transitively depending on the embedded verb, i.e. it assimilates in transitivity to the embedded verb. Like in Puma (Schackow 2008), with intransitive complements, *lapt-* is inflected intransitively, as

illustrated in (10.2a,b). In the case of transitive complements, the embedded object triggers agreement in the matrix verb (10.3a). If there is no object in the embedded clause, the matrix verb takes the 3P default agreement (10.3b). As stated earlier, the S/A arguments of the matrix and the embedded clauses must be coreferential.

- (10.2) a. *paĩ pĩ-ma lap-ma-ʔã*
today run.away-INF be.about-1sS-NPST
‘I am about to run today.’ [CLLDCh4R09S01.0941a]
- b. *taĩ-ma lapt-e*
jump-INF [3sS]be.about-PST
‘She is about to jump.’ [CLLDCh1R09S06.0258]
- (10.3) a. *barsa-ŋa ani wa-pok-ma mai-lapt-e*
rain-ERG 1p make.wet-make.wet-INF iP-be.about-PST
‘The rain started to wet us.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *pāi nare u-ppa-ŋa teĩ-ma lapt-o-ko*
today Nare 3sPOSS-father-ERG beat-INF [3sA]be.about-3P-NPST
‘Nare’s father is about to beat (him) today.’ [CLLDCh3R07S01. 108]

In most of the cases, the arguments remain covert in Chintang. So it is not easy to know which argument is controlling which other argument. However, there are a number of examples in our corpus where arguments are realized overtly in sentences. For example in (10.4a,b), everything between the modifier and the embedded verb is the embedded clause. In both examples, the S/A arguments of the embedded verb control the S/A positions of the matrix clause. The embedded verb also assigns case, as in (10.4c). This is an example of backward control in Chintang.

- (10.4) a. *esari akka thitta cham lu-ma lapt-u-ku-ŋ*
now 1s one song sing-INF be.about-3P-NPST-1sA
‘Now, I am about to sing a song.’ [comolung_song.006]
- b. *gakkaŋ akka teĩ-ma lapt-u-ŋs-u-hẽ paĩ*
later 1s beat-INF be.about-3P-PERF-3P-1sA.PST today
‘I was about to beat him today!’ [CLLDCh4R02S02b.333]

- c. *i-laj* *phak-ŋa* *nek-ma* *lapt-o-ŋs-e*
 2sPOSS-leg pig-ERG bite-INF [3sA]be.about-3P-PERF-PST
 ‘The pig is about to bite your leg.’ [CLLDCh2R06S07.1041]

The ergative case in (10.3a,b) and also in (10.4c) is clearly due to the transitivity of the embedded verbs ‘make.wet’, ‘beat’, and ‘bite’, respectively. This is clear from the ungrammaticality of ergative case with intransitive subordinate verbs in (10.5a) and the grammaticality of nominative case in (10.5b).

- (10.5) a. **joge-ŋa* *im-ma* *lapt-o-ŋs-e*
 J.-ERG sleep-INF [3sA]be.about-3P-PERF-PST
 ‘Joge was about to sleep.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *sakti* *u-ppa* *kuŋ-ma* *lapt-e* *hola*
 Sakti 3sPOSS-father come.down-INF [3sA]be.about-PST probably
 ‘Probably, Sakti’s father is about to come down.’ [CLDLCh3R01S03.430]

Prefixes indexing S/A/P sometimes stay on the infinitives in the embedded clause instead of being attached to the matrix verb, as shown in (10.6a-c). But the control behavior is not affected with this type of local agreement within the embedded clause. This type of person marking on infinitives is also found with other matrix verbs (e.g., modal verbs *hid-* ‘be able to’, *les-* ‘like’). However, this type of agreement is generally less preferred in Chintang. (10.6a) represents the most common agreement pattern found in Chintang. Another extremely rare but possible pattern is doubling, as shown in (10.6d).

- (10.6) a. *hicce* *na-teĩ-ma* *lapt-i-ki* *paĩ*
 two 3>2-beat-INF be.about-p-NPST today
 ‘He is about to beat you two today.’ [CLLDCh2R03S01 198]
- a’. *gakkaŋ* *didi* *ta=ki* *teĩ-ma* *na-lapt-i-ki* *paĩ*
 later sister come=SEQ beat-INF 3>2-be.about-p-NPST today
 ‘Later on, sister comes and starts to beat you today.’³ [CLLDCh4R06S05.043]

³ See also the record [CLLDCh4R06S05.378] in the Chintang corpus for another similar evidence.

- b. *hani bĩu-ce ekchata u-li-ma lap-no*
 2p seed-ns once 3nsS-be-INF [3sS]be.about-NPST
 ‘All your seeds were about to be ready at once.’ [CLLDCh2R03S04.0555]
- c. *eʔni a-hi-ma lapt-u-ce abo*
 yes 2sS-be.able-INF be.about-3P-3nsP now
 ‘Yes, you are about to take them now?’ [CLLDCh2R11S01.619]
- d. *i-phuwa-ŋa hana na-teĩ-ma na-lap-no*
 2sPOSS-brother-ERG 2s 3>2-beat-INF 3>2-be.about-NPST
 ‘Your brother is about to beat you.’ [Elicited_2012]

The verb agreement in the above examples is unexpected. The pattern is exceptional because the matrix verb appears to agree in person and number with the subject and the object argument of the verb of the infinitival complement clause.

Particles may optionally be present within the complement clause, although they are not required by any grammatical rules. An example is given in (10.7).

- (10.7) *poŋ-ma=na lap-nĩk-nĩŋ hola*
 give.birth-INF=TOP [3sA]be.about-NPST-NEG probably
 ‘She is probably not ready to give birth.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.098]

To sum up, *lapt-* ‘be about’ copies transitivity from the valency of the embedded verb. There is no particular space for objects in the matrix clause. So, the object slot is either filled by the whole embedded clause or by the raised object-argument. Case is assigned by the embedded verb. The S/A arguments of the embedded and matrix clause must be identical in reference. As the overt S/A arguments belong to the embedded clause and control the S/A position of the matrix clause, *lapt-* is analyzed as a backward control verb.

puŋs- ‘start to’

Unlike *lapt-* ‘be about’, *puŋs-* ‘start to’ is always inflected transitively. Its inflection does not depend on the valency of the embedded verb. But like *lapt-*, *puŋs-* is also a backward control verb. The overt S/A arguments belonging to the embedded clause control the S/A positions in

- (10.10) a. *a-nne akka=na kok ca-ma puŋs-u-hẽ gonei?*
 1sPOSS-sister 1s=TOP rice eat-INF start-3P-1sA.PST ATTN₁
 ‘Sister! I started to eat rice, okay?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.067]
- b. *ani teĩ-ma mai-puŋs-e*
 1p beat-INF iP-start-PST
 ‘S/he started to beat us.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- (10.11) a. *huĩ-sa-ŋa hana paisa pi-ma na-puŋs-e*
 3sS-OBL-ERG 2s money give-INF 3>2-start-PST
 ‘Did he start to give you money?’ [Elicited_2012]
- b. *huĩ-sa-ŋa u-talab khim-be haŋ-ma puŋs-e*
 3s-OBL-ERG 3sPOSS-salary home-LOC send-INF [3sA]start-PST
 ‘He started to send his salary to home.’

In short, *puŋs-* ‘start to’ is the first verb which is always inflected transitively (cf. the second verb ‘get’ in §10.2.1.5). With intransitive complements, it takes the whole complement clause as a P argument and is marked with 3P default agreement. In the case of transitive complements, both the A and P arguments of the embedded clause can trigger agreement in the matrix verb. According to my data, this is another example of backward control verb in Chintang.

10.2.1.2 Desiderative predicates

Desiderative predicates convey a wish on the part of an experiencer that the complement clause be realized (Cristofaro 2003, Noonan 2007). In some languages, such as English, there are different types of desiderative predicates such as ‘hope’, ‘wish’ and ‘want’. But there are only two desiderative predicates in Chintang: *kond-* ‘have to, want’ and *les-* ‘like’.

kond- ‘have to, should’, ‘want’

This verb behaves like two different verbs in Chintang. However, it is a single verb which is used both impersonally and personally. It takes the whole complement clause as the S argument when it is used impersonally (i.e. with the deontic sense). In this case, the matrix verb is not inflected. The following examples illustrate the impersonal use of the verb *kond-*:

- (10.12) a. *ri-ma-yak-ma* *kon-no*
 turn-INF-TEL-INF [3sS]should-NPST
 ‘It should be moved continuously.’ [hong_i_rokma.050]
- b. *cuwa ti-ma=kina lok-mei?-ma kon-no*
 water keep-INF=SEQ boil-CAUS-INF [3sS]should-NPST
 ‘It should be boiled in water.’ [hong_i_rokma.113]
- c. *abo jãc pi-si khai?-ma kon-no*
 now exam give-PURP go-INF [3sS]should-NPST
 ‘Now, we have to go to appear in the examination.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.532]

Though the impersonal verb in the matrix clause cannot take any agreement markers, there are, however, quite a few examples where the embedded verb agrees in number with its object, as shown in (10.13a-c).

- (10.13) a. *agga yo saũwa-ce=lo cuwa pi-ma-ce kon-no*
 EXCLA DEM.ACROSS buffalo-ns=SURP water give-INF-3nsP should-NPST
 ‘Oh! One should give water to these buffalos.’ [CLDLCh3R01S04.084]
- b. *phoi?-ma=kina yuŋ-ma-ce kon-no*
 dry-INF=SEQ keep-INF-3nsP should-NPST
 ‘We should keep them after drying.’ [CLLDCh2R04S04.1038]
- c. *cha-ce wareĩ paŋ-ma-ce koĩ*
 child-ns later send-INF-3nsP should
 ‘I should send the children later.’ [DR_exp.253]

When the semantics is desiderative, *kond-* is used personally. In this case it can raise arguments. But the raisable argument is not arbitrary — it is always the argument that would trigger O-agreement on a finite verb, so P with monotransitive verbs, T with direct object verbs, and G with primary and double object verbs. It cannot raise S/A arguments.

In (10.14a), the P argument triggers agreement, but in (10.14b) it is G. (10.14b) also demonstrates that an embedded T argument cannot be raised: even though the person and number features in the agreement marker in the matrix verb (*ukonno* ‘they must’, third

- b. *hunce=yaŋ si-ma-iʔ-ma u-kond-o-ko*
 3ns=ADD die-INF-COMPL₂-INF 3nsA-want-3P-NPST
 ‘They also want to die.’ [Gen_talk.122]
- c. *ani tara aru meĩ kheiʔ-ma-khu-ma=na mai-kon-nĩk-nĩŋ*
 1pi but other FILLER buy-INF-carry-INF=TOP iP-must-NPST-NEG
 ‘We don't have to buy and carry for us.’ [Gen_talk.142]

There is no corpus data to judge the forward or backward control relation of this verb. However, in my elicited examples, *kond-* clearly displays forward control. In example (10.17), we get A-agreement even with embedded intransitive clauses. (10.16b) above is the only counter example I ever found to this at least in the surface form, but my consultants confirm that the ergative marking *-yã* is dropped in that form (*hunce-yã=yaŋ-> hunce=yaŋ*). It is probably because of spontaneous haplology.

- (10.17) *Nagen-ŋa im-ma kond-o-ko*
 N.-ERG sleep-INF [3sA]want-3P-NPST
 ‘Nagen wants to sleep.’ [Elicited_2012]

les- ‘like’

les- is a monotransitive verb which occurs only with embedded transitive verbs. The embedded verb assigns case. The matrix verb either agrees with default 3P, or with a raised object of the embedded clause. Examples of the default agreement are given in (10.18), and the raised object agreement is illustrated in (10.19). The examples in (10.20a,b) illustrate that the A argument of the embedded clause is case-marked. The S/A arguments of the embedded and the matrix clauses must always be coreferential.

- (10.18) *khaŋ-ma les-u-ku-ŋ*
 see-INF like-3P-NPST-1sA
 ‘I like to see (it).’ [CLLDCh3R14S01.0407]
- (10.19) *khaŋ-ma mai-le-no them*
 watch-INF iP-like-NPST what
 ‘She likes to watch us.’ [CLLDCh4R01S03.72]

- (10.20) a. *hana=ta* *biddiyarthi-ce-ŋa* *khaŋ-ma* *na-les-a-ŋs-e*
 2s=FOC₁ student-ns-ERG see-INF 3>2-like-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘You are the one the students have come to like.’ [Durga_job.171]
- b. *kamala-ŋa* *ca-ma* *les-o-ko* *naŋ*
 K.-ERG eat-INF [3sA]like-3P-NPST BUT
 ‘Kamala likes to eat it.’ [CLLDCh2R12S08. 551]

To make a brief summary, *les-* appears only with transitive complements. Again, there is no dedicated space for objects in the matrix clause. As usual the matrix clause either takes the entire embedded clause as an object or it agrees with a raised object.

10.2.1.3 Propositional attitude

Propositional attitude predicates express an attitude regarding the truth value of the complement clause (Cristofaro 2003, Noonan 2007). There is only one propositional attitude predicate *mitt-* in Chintang.

mi?ma, mitt- ‘think, think of, remember’

This is a monotransitive verb, which is inflected either intransitively or transitively. The embedded verb determines the valency of the matrix verb. The examples in (10.21a,b) are constructed with an intransitive embedded verb where the matrix verb copies the intransitivity from the embedded clause. The matrix verb cannot be inflected transitively when there is an intransitive embedded verb, as illustrated by an ungrammatical sentence in (10.21c).

- (10.21) a. *akka=ta* *khai?-ma* *mo* *mitt-a-ŋs-e-hẽ*
 1s=FOC₁ go-INF CIT think-PST-PERF-PST-1sS.PST
 ‘I have planned to go.’ [ctn_talk01.068]
- b. *hanci* *hiŋ-ma* *mo* *a-mi?-ce-ke* *huĩ*
 2d survive-INF CIT 2sS-think-d-NPST DEM
 ‘if you want to survive’ [khebak_tale.121]

- c. **ram-ŋa* *im-ma* *mitt-o-ko*
 R.-ERG sleep-INF [3sA]think-3P-NPST
 ‘Ram plans to sleep.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

When there are transitive complements, the matrix verb either agrees with default 3P or with the raised object of the embedded clause. Example (10.22) illustrates the default 3P agreement, and in (10.23a) the raised object of the embedded verb triggers agreement.

- (10.22) *akka* *khaiʔ-ma* *mitt-u-ku-ŋ*
 1s take-INF think-3P-1sA
 ‘I am planning to take (it).’ [Fieldwork_2010]

- (10.23) a. *huĩ-sa-ŋa* *ani* *haiʔ-ma* *mo* *mai-miʔ-no*
 DEM-OBL-ERG 1pi wait-INF CIT iP-think-NPST
 ‘He considers to wait for us.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

- b. *huĩ-sa-ŋa* *hana* *pi-ma* *na-miʔ-no*
 3s-OBL-ERG 2s give-INF 3>2-think-NPST
 ‘He considers to give it to you.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

This verb is also analysed as backward control verb. The examples in (10.24) illustrate that the S/A argument of the embedded clause controls the S/A position in the matrix clause. So, this verb is also analysed as a backward control verb. In addition, they also exhibit long-distance agreement. However, unlike in other verbs, LDA is not obligatory even with specific embedded P, as shown in (11.24c).

- (11.24) a. **ram-ŋa* *im-ma* *mo* *mitt-o-ko*
 R.-ERG sleep-INF CIT [3sA]think-3P-NPST
 ‘Ram plans to sleep.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

- b. *Janaki-ŋa* *tup-ma* *mo* *na-miʔ-no*
 J.-ERG meet-INF CIT 3>2-think-NPST
 ‘Janaki plans to meet you.’ [Elicited_2012]

- c. *Janaki* *hana* *tup-ma* *mo* *miʔ-no*
 J. 2s meet-INF CIT [3sS]think-NPST
 ‘Janaki plans to meet you.’ [Elicited_2012]

10.2.1.5 Other predicates

tok- ‘get’

After *puŋs-* ‘start’, *tok-* is the second verb which is inflected transitively even if it has an intransitive embedded clause. Unlike most other verbs, this verb can assign case to its arguments. Schackow (2008) also noticed a similar behavior of the cognate verb in Puma. The data in (10.32a) and (10.32b) show that the matrix verb is inflected transitively even if there are intransitive complements in both occurrences. Examples (10.33a) and (10.33b) illustrate the case of forward control.

- (10.32) a. *im-ma* *u-tog-o-ko-niŋ* *ni*
 sleep-INF 3nsA-get-3P-NPST-NEG FOC₂
 ‘They don’t get to sleep.’ [CLLDCh1R07S02 138]
- b. *khaŋ-ma* *tok-u-ku-m-nim*
 see-INF get-3P-NPST-3P-1pA-NEG
 ‘We don’t get something to see.’ [CLLDCh2R04S04.1233]
- (10.33) a. *joge-ŋa im-ma* *tog-o-ko*
 J.-ERG sleep-INF [3sA]get-3P-NPST
 ‘Joge gets (time) to sleep.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *ticer-ce-ŋa=yaŋ* *u-tog-o-ko* *ni ta-ma*
 teacher-ns-ERG=ADD 3sA-get-3P-NPST FOC₂ come-INF
 ‘The teachers can also come.’ [exp_uni.213]

As the overt A arguments belong to the matrix clause and control the S/A position in embedded clause, this verb is an example of forward control in Chintang.

Tok- can also take nominal complements.

- (10.34) *pāc-e-da* *bakhra a-tog-i-ki* *hani kancha*
 five-ADJV-CLF goat 2A-get-p-NPST 2p youngest.one.male
 ‘Kancha! Do you get five goats?’ [CLLDCh1R13S02.0413]

To summarize, *tok-* ‘get’ is a forward control verb in Chintang. Like in English, the S/A argument of the higher clause controls the corresponding S/A position of the lower clause. Except for the default 3P agreement, there is no other type of object agreement with this verb.

hott- ‘make tired’

hott- is a monotransitive verb; something causes someone to become tired. The causer is marked with the ergative case. So, this verb is different from all other verbs described above. The infinitive occupies the A role in the matrix and behaves like a nominal argument.

- (10.35) a. *gol* *khon-ma-ŋa=yaŋ* *mai-hoʔ-no* *aŋ*
 ball play-INF-ERG=ADD iP-make.tired-NPST Q
 ‘Playing ball makes us tired as well!’ [CLLDCh3R14S01.0701]
- b. *na-hott-e* *yuŋ-ma-ŋa*
 3>2-make.tired-PST sit-INF-ERG
 ‘Staying (in the cradle) tired you?’ [CLLDCh3R14S01.0699]

In all types of infinitival complement clauses, the embedded verb cannot be inflected, except for the object agreement. All the morphological marking like person and number, is reserved for the matrix predicate.

Table 10.2 summarizes the most important features of infinitival complement clauses.

Type of predicate	Stems	Valency	S/A Case assi.	Referential identity	control	LDA
Aspectual	<i>lapt-</i>	ambitrans.	by em. V	[S/A] = S/A	backward	yes
	<i>puŋs-</i>	monotrans.	by em. V	[S/A] = A	backward	yes
Desiderative	<i>kond-</i>	ambitrans.	by em. V	[S/A] = S/A	backward	yes
	<i>les-</i>	monotrans.	by em. V	[A] = A	not clear	yes
Propositional attitude	<i>mitt-</i>	monotrans.	by em. V	[S/A] = A	backward	yes
modal	<i>hid-</i>	monotrans.	by em. V	[S/A] = S/A	backward	yes
Other	<i>tok-</i>	monotrans.	by mat. V	[S/A] = A	forward	no
	<i>hott-</i>	monotrans.	by em. V	[A] = P	not clear	not clear

Table 10.2: Properties of infinitival complement clauses

10.2 Nominalized complement clauses

As I discussed in Chapter 9, nominalization is one of the most productive syntactic phenomena of Tibeto-Burman languages. It is a means of creating various types of syntactic structures like attributive phrases, relative clauses and so on. But so far, I have considered only nominalized clauses with nominal arguments — subject, direct object or indirect object.⁵ In this chapter, I concentrate only on nominalized complement clauses which are widely attested in a great number of Tibeto-Burman languages, if not all. It is a quite productive syntactic structure in many Kiranti languages including in Chintang. Nominalized complement clauses are different from other nominalized clauses in the sense that a nominalized complement clause always functions as noun phrase complement of a matrix clause.

In all Kiranti languages, complement clauses make use of the general nominalizer (found also in relative clauses) attached to fully finite clauses (Watters 2008). For this purpose Chintang employs the general nominalizer =go. It is suffixed to an inflected verb. It has been mentioned in the previous section that only verbs of cognition and saying can utilize

⁵ see §9.1.3

nominalization as a complement strategy. It would be ungrammatical with phase verbs like ‘start’, ‘end’, and modal verbs like ‘should’, ‘have to’, and so on. Unlike in infinitival complement clauses, there is no obligatory identity of S/A arguments in nominalized complement clauses. The S/A argument of the embedded clause is not necessarily coreferential with the S/A argument of the matrix clause. The matrix verbs do not exhibit control when they are combined with a nominalizer. Such verbs allow the subject inside the argument to be referentially independent from the matrix subject or object. It is obvious that the choice of nominalized complement does not trigger control, i.e. a nominalized complement cannot be utilized to induce control and can therefore be considered as ‘control-neutral’ (Gamerschlag 2007). As every verb can constitute a clause on its own, I do not see any distinction between nominalization of clauses and nominalization of verbs in Chintang.

nīs- ‘to know’

Unlike in Puma, where the S argument of the embedded clause obligatorily triggers P-agreement in the matrix verb and S agreement in the embedded verb (10.36), there is no P agreement in Chintang (10.37).

- (10.36) Puma
- | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|
| <i>ŋa-a</i> | <i>khanna</i> | <i>ta-ta-a=ku</i> | <i>sin-na</i> |
| 1s-ERG | 2s | 2s-come-PST=NMLZ | know-1s>2 |
- ‘I know that you came.’ [Schackow 2008]

- (10.37) a.
- | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>akka</i> | <i>hana</i> | <i>a-hab-a=go</i> | <i>nīs-u-k-u-ŋ</i> |
| 1s | 2s | 2sS-cry-PST=NMLZ ₁ | know-3P-NPST-3P-1sA |
- ‘I know that you cried.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

- b.
- | | | |
|-------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>hana</i> | <i>a-ims-a=go</i> | <i>nīs-u-k-u-ŋ</i> |
| 2s | 2sS-sleep-PST=NMLZ ₁ | know-3P-NPST-3P-1sA |
- ‘I know that you slept.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

As I mentioned above, there is no necessity for referential identity. In examples (10.38a,b), the A argument of the embedded clause is not coreferential with the A argument of the matrix

clause. Example (10.38b) shows that the complement clause may also include ideophones and adverbial elements.

- (10.38) a. *akka kam-a hid-u-ŋ=go master-ŋa nis-o-ko*
 1s work-N.NTVZ finish-3P-1sA=NMLZ₁ teacher-ERG [3sA]know-3P-NPST
 ‘The teacher knows that I finished the work.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *phak-phak-lari ten-na-ʔã=go a-nis-o-ko=nchi e*
 IDEOPH-REDUP-ADVZ₂ beat-1>2-NPST=NMLZ₁ 2sA-know-3P-NPST=not or
 ‘Do you remember that I beat you very much?’ [CLLDCh4R04S06.1037b]

tupt- ‘understand’

tupma is a transitive verb, which always shows default 3P agreement with the entire complement clause. Furthermore, the object of the embedded clause triggers agreement on both the nominalized verb of the embedded clause and the verb of the matrix clause, as illustrated in (10.39). Arguments of the nominalized complement clauses can also take the nominal categories like case markers and number inflections. In example (10.39), we can see that the argument of the nominalized complement clause retains the case marker *-ŋa*.

- (10.39) *hana-ŋa kha-a-cind-a=go*
 2s-ERG 1nsP-2sA-teach-PST=NMLZ₁
- anaŋa tupt-u-ms-u-mm-ehẽ*
 1pe understand-3P-PERF-3P-1nsP-PST
 ‘We have understood that you taught us.’ [Durga_job.096]

mitt- ‘remember’

It is a general phenomenon that the S/A argument is dropped when it is coreferential with the S/A argument of the complement clause (10.40a). However, coreference is not a required condition for propositional predicates like *mitt-* ‘think’. Example (10.40b) illustrates this.

- (10.40) a. *a-kam-ce-niŋ* *khel-a* *numd-i-ŋa=go*
 1sPOSS-friend-ns-COM play-N.NTVZ do-p-e=NMLZ₁
mitt-u-ŋ-sed-u-hẽ
 remember-3P-1sA-kill-3P-1sA.PST
 ‘I remembered that I played a game with my friends.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *hana* *a-cind-a=go* *akka* *mitt-u-ku-ŋ=ta*
 2s 2sA-teach-PST=NMLZ₁ 1s remember-3P-NPST=IPFV₂
 ‘I remember that you taught me.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

According to my data, nominalized complements can only occur with nominative, ergative, possessive and oblique arguments. Nominalized predicates do not take genitive marking on either subjects or objects in Chintang. This is a general feature of sentential nominalization.

- (10.41) a. **i-chau-ko* *cekt-a=go* *tupt-u-ku-ŋ*
 2sPOSS-son-GEN speak-PST=NMLZ₁ understand-3P-NPST-1sA
 ‘I understood what your child said.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *asinda* *i-khim-be(*-ko)* *khems-u-ŋ=go*
 yesterday 2sPOSS-house-LOC(*-GEN) hear-3P-1sA=NMLZ₁
jammai tupt-u-hẽ
 all understand-3P-1sA.PST
 ‘I understood all what I heard at your home yesterday.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

As discussed above, according to our corpus, most of the nominalized complement clauses are constructed with a single grammatical clause in Chintang. But it is possible for a complement clause to be internally complex and include various other finite or nonfinite clauses, as in (10.42).

- (10.42) a. *phak* *sei?-ma* *hid-u-hẽ=kina* *puja* *num-si* *maythana*
 pig kill-INF finish-3P-1sA.PST=SEQ worship do-PURP temple
khad-i-ki-ŋa=go *akka* *majjale* *mitt-u-ku-ŋ-niŋ*
 go-p-NPST-e-PST=NMLZ₁ 1s well remember-3P-NPST-1sA-NEG
 ‘I do not remember well that I killed a pig and we went to the temple in order to worship.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

- b. *kanchi khad-a-lois-a=go hana a-nis-o-ko=go*
 K. go-PST-OUT₁-PST=NMLZ₁ 2s 2sA-know-3P=NMLZ₁
akka mund-u-ηs-u-η=kha
 1s forget-3P-PERF-3P-1sA=NMLZ₂
 'I had forgotten you knew that Kanchi went away.' [Fieldwork_2010]

In this complex nominalized structure, 'that I killed a pig and we went to temple in order to worship', contains two other clauses, a sequential clause '...killed a pig and...' and a purposive clause 'in order to worship'. Example (10.42b) illustrates that it is also possible to recursively embed two =go clauses.

10.3 *Samma* complement clause

The role of case markers in complementation is usually limited in Chintang. However, the morpheme *samma* which serves as the terminative case marker (see §3.1.3.7) also appears in complementation. *Samma* either takes a nominalized verb (10.43a), or subjunctive (10.43b), indicative (10.43c) or the infinitival form of the verb (10.44). Example (10.44) also shows that the S/A arguments of the embedded and matrix clauses do not need to be identical. The following sentences illustrate these uses of *samma* as a complementizer.

- (10.43) a. *aba nis-u-η=go samma*
 now know-3P-1s=NMZL₁ TERM
 'as much as I know' [rana_pilgrim.002]
- b. *aba nis-u-η samma*
 now know-3P-1s TERM
 'as far as I remember' [Fieldwork_2010]
- c. *abo lu si-ηa-?ã-niη-lok somma*
 now PTCL die-1sS-NPST-NEG-SIM TERM
 'until I die' [Student_life.153]

- (10.44) *dharan catara mai-khai?-ma somma*
 Dh. C. NEG-go-INF TERM
hana ba-i?-ta mitt-a
 2s DEM.PROX-FLOC=FOC₁ think-IMP
 ‘You think here until I reach Dharan-Chatara!’ [khim_ring.105]

The postposition *samma* or *somma* ‘till/until’ is not a native Chintang form. It is borrowed from Nepali.

10.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have described the different types of complement clauses in terms of control behavior of their S/A and P arguments and agreement properties. The S/A arguments of the embedded and matrix clauses must be identical for all the infinitival complement clauses. However, there is no coreferentiality restriction in nominalized and *samma* complement clauses in Chintang. Transitivity, case assignment, control and agreement behavior are quite diverse. There are both forward and backward control in Chintang. The corpus data show that both backward control and raising can occur together.

Chintang has a number of verbs which take an infinitival clause as their argument. But they all do not behave uniformly. Out of 10 different verbs described in this chapter, eight verbs, viz. *lapt-* ‘begin’, *kond-* ‘want’, ‘should’, *les-* ‘like’, *mitt-* ‘think’, ‘remember’, *hid-* ‘finish’, *lis-* ‘be’, *nis-* ‘know’, and *hott-* ‘become tired’ assimilate in transitivity to the embedded verb. These verbs do not assign case either. Moreover, interestingly some of these verbs, namely *lapt-* ‘begin’, *les-* ‘like’, *mitt-* ‘think, remember’, *kond-* ‘want’, ‘should’ and *hid-* ‘finish’ do agree with arguments that are not their own — resulting in a long-distance agreement. In this case, the S/A argument from the lower clause controls the S/A argument in the matrix clause, which has been described as backward control in Tsez by Polinsky. In this survey, *tok-* ‘get’ is the only verb which assigns case to its arguments. Moreover, this is the only verb which shows forward control like in English. Prefixes indexing S/A/P sometimes stay on the infinitives in the embedded clause (cf. *lapt-* ‘begin’, *lis-* ‘be’), and in few predicates like *kond-* ‘want’, ‘should’ and *hid-* ‘be able to’. The embedded infinitive agrees in number with its object. No verb in my survey has a specified object position in the matrix clause. The object slot is either filled by the entire complement clause or by the raised objects.

Chapter 11

Adverbial Clauses

11.0 Introduction

Kiranti languages exhibit an interesting diversity in adverbial clauses. There are both non-finite and finite adverbial clauses in Chintang. In this language, all the non-finite and finite adverbial clauses are marked with various morphemes, like clitics, affixes, and conjunctions. However, they have no unified structures that one could compare to “adverbial subordination” in European languages (Bickel 1993:39). According to Bickel (ibid.) clause linkage includes sequentialization of what he calls ad-sentential and peripheral subordination in Belhare. He describes the ad-sentential and peripheral subordination as part of a continuum.¹ He argues that there is a type of “nexus” in which the attached clause is dependent on. In line with this, Chintang adjunct clauses are similar to what traditionally understood by “subordination”, but not the same.

In this chapter I describe the different types of adverbial clauses with respect to their morphological, semantic, and syntactic properties. In §11.1, I describe the non-finite converbal clauses, viz. converbal clauses with *-saja*, purposive clauses with *-si* and negated converbal clauses with *mai-* *-ma*. In §11.2, I analyze the finite clauses, including the temporal conjunctions borrowed from Nepali. Towards the end of this chapter, I describe all the variable clause linkers which form both nonfinite and finite clauses (§11.3).

¹ A similar continuum is proposed by Lehmann (1988).

11.1 Nonfinite clauses

Traditionally, non-finite subordinate clauses are defined as subordinate clause whose verb does not bear any person and number markers. This definition does not seem to hold for what I analyse as non-finite forms in Chintang. Even though all non-finite subordinate clauses lack tense, and mood, in Chintang we encounter person and number marking in purposive clauses as possessive prefixes. A survey of the Chintang corpus shows that the texts are full of complex structures which contain a great deal of non-finite clauses. There are basically three distinct types of non-finite adverbial clauses (Paudyal et al. 2010). Among these three types of clauses, there is obligatory control of arguments only in simultaneous converbal and purposive converbal clauses, but not in negation converbal clause. All non-finite adverbial subordinate clauses described in this section function as modifiers.

11.1.1 Simultaneous converb –*saŋa*

The simultaneous converbal suffix *-saŋa* ‘CVB’ is attached to a verb stem, and indicates that the action of the dependent clause takes place simultaneously with the matrix clause event. It combines two different actions expressed by two different verbs but happening at the same time or temporally overlapping. The converbal clause depends on the matrix clause for tense interpretation. The S/A argument of the converbal clause is always coreferential with that of the main clause. The converb *-saŋa* is not restricted to a particular verb class; it can be suffixed to all types of verbs. Unlike the purposive *-si* which only occurs with motion verbs, *-saŋa* includes both motion and non-motion verbs. There are a number of examples in our corpus where the verb slot in the matrix clause is filled by non-motion verbs, such as *yur-* ‘stay’, *ims-* ‘sleep’, *ned-* ‘read’, *pid-* ‘give’ and so on.

Both the embedded and matrix clauses can be intransitive with shared S argument, as shown in (11.1a), or the matrix verb can be transitive, as in (11.1b,c).

- (11.1) a. *ãh* *reiʔ-saŋa=ta* *yu-i-yakt-i-ŋa=kha* *abo*
 FILLER laugh-CVB=FOC₁ stay-p-IPFV₁-p-e=NMLZ₂ now
 ‘We were staying, laughing.’ [appa_katha_talk.032]
- b. *cek-saŋa* *ca-no*
 speak-CVB [3sA]eat-NPST
 ‘S/he eats, speaking.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

- c. *abo* *hi-saŋa* *u-thap-no=ta*
 now finish-CVB 3nsA-bring.across-NPST=IPFV₂
 ‘They come over, finishing (sowing maize and millet).’ [Gen_talk.020]²

In example (11.2a), both the embedded and matrix clauses are transitive. Here the embedded A argument is coreferential with the matrix A. The embedded A can also be coreferential with a matrix S argument, as shown in (11.2b).

- (11.2) a. *teĩ-saŋa=ta* *khatt-e* *khoku*
 beat-CVB=FOC₁ [3sA]take-PST Kh.
 ‘He took (him) to Khoku, beating him.’ [Chintang_sahid.185]
- b. *esari samma* *yoʔ-ni* *ba-iʔ-ni*
 this TERM DEM.ACROSS-DIR₂ DEM.PROX-FLOC-DIR₂

 num-saŋa=ta *yuy-ŋa-ʔã*
 do-CVB=FOC₁ stay-1sS-NPST
 ‘I am sitting until now, doing this and that.’ [Chintang_sahid.025]
- c. *thiŋ-saŋa=ta* *yuy-na-yuy=ne*
 spread-CVB=FOC₁ live-NA-keep=OPT
 ‘May it keep spreading!’ [comolung_song.026]

The converbal suffix is attached directly to the uninflected verb stems. The only exception found so far is with the causative suffix: *mett* > *mes*, examples *num-mes-saŋa* ‘making him/her do’, *peĩ-mes-saŋa* ‘making it fly’.

According to the Chintang corpus, a large number of converbal constructions do not contain overt S/A arguments. This means that both the embedded and matrix clauses are constructed without overt arguments. It is impossible to have an overt S/A argument in the embedded clause. So, if there is any overt S/A argument, it unambiguously belongs to the matrix clause. This is clear from the ungrammaticality of ergative case with an intransitive matrix verb, as

² Ebert (1997a) describes converbal clauses under the maximally reduced clause group where the verb appears in non-finite form without TAM markers. This holds partially true for Chintang; aspectual vector verbs like *haiʔma*, *hatt-*, *dheiʔma*, *dhett-*, can appear in Chintang. Like in many other languages, the S/A argument of the embedded clause is always coreferential with the S/A argument of the matrix clause in most if not all of the Kiranti languages (Ebert 1997a, 1997b).

- c. **khaŋ-saŋa* *thoms-e*
 watch-CVB [3sS]do.a.shamanic.session-PST
 Intended: 'He did a shamanic session while everybody was watching him.'
[Fieldwork 2010]

Bickel (2003a) reports that it is common for converbs to be repeated for emphasis in the neighboring language Belhare. This also holds true for Chintang. Examples like in (11.6a,b) are common in Chintang.

- (11.6) a. *ba-khi=ta* *khīp-saŋa* *khīp-saŋa* *lond-i-e-hě*
 DEM.PROX-TYP=FOC₁ read-CVB read-CVB appear-p-PST-1sS.PST
 ‘In this way, we went on studying.’ [lifstory_JK.30]
- b. *khi-saŋa* *khi-saŋa* *rikt-e*
 quarrel-CVB quarrel-CVB [3sA]chase-PST
 ‘He chased him, scolding.’ [CLLDCh4R13S05.568]

As in the above examples, in most of the cases, the simultaneous converb clause precedes the matrix clause. But in addition to this, a converbal clause can also appear following the main clause. However, the position of the converbal clause does not influence the interpretation or the choice of the controller. This is illustrated by the following examples from the Chintang corpus.

- (11.7) a. *khim-beʔ=ta yuŋ-no o chap-saŋa*
house-LOC=FOC₁ be-NPST RECONF write-CVB
'He stays at home, writing.' [CLDLCh3R01S02.479]
- b. *akka=na athom=ta khad-a-ŋs-e-hẽ wahu-saŋa*
1s=TOP before=FOC₁ go-PST-PERF-PST-1sS.PST swim-CVB
'Swimming (in the river), I have gone there before.' [CLLDCh3R03S01.0259]
- c. *pog-u-loĩs-a cop-saŋa*
get.up-3P-OUT₁-IMP see-CVB
'Get up, looking on it!' [CLLDCh1R09S07.0117]

11.1.1.1 Possible argument sharing in converbal constructions

As I mentioned above, S/A argument sharing between embedded and matrix clauses is obligatory in converbal clauses. We have no examples where there is no argument sharing in the converbal constructions. Thus, the converbal construction in Chintang involves a strict syntactic constraint on argument sharing. The examples discussed in this section illustrate the following configurations:

- two intransitive clauses sharing their S argument: S=S (11.1a), (11.6a,b), (11.7b,c), (11.8b)
- two transitive clause sharing their A argument only: A=A (11.3a), (11.4b),
- two transitive clause sharing both their A and P arguments: A=A, P=P (11.2a), (11.8a)
- coreference between the S of embedded and the A of matrix clause: A=S (11.1b,c), (11.5b)
- coreference between the A of embedded and S of matrix clause: S=A (11.2b,c)

In example (11.9a), what is negated is not the fact of ‘going’ but the mode of ‘going’ even though the negation marker is on the matrix verb ‘go’. The same thing is also noticed in (11.9b), though the matrix verb is negated, the effect of negation is not on ‘sleeping’ but on ‘drinking’, which is a cause of sleeplessness for the participant.

(11.8) Puma (Schackow et al. 2012)

<i>gaph</i>	<i>mu-so</i>	<i>kama</i>	<i>pa-mu-e-min</i>
talk	do-SIM.CVB	work	NEG-do-1pS-p.NEG

1. ‘Chatting, we do not work.’
2. ‘We work without talking.’

(11.9) a.

<i>phaĩ-saŋa</i>	<i>akka</i>	<i>khaiʔ-ya-ʔã-niŋ</i>	<i>khim</i>
walk-CVB	1s	go-1sS-NPST-NEG	home

‘I go home, but not by walking.’ [Elicited_2012]
 Not: ‘I do not go home, but I walk.’

b.

<i>arkha</i>	<i>hop-saŋa</i>	<i>im-ma-ʔã-niŋ</i>
local.alcohol	drink-CVB	sleep-1sS-NPST-NEG

‘I sleep without drinking alcohol.’ [Elicited_2012]
 Not: I do not sleep, but I drink alcohol.’

There is also another strategy to negate converbal constructions where the scope of negation is on the embedded clause without any ambiguity. This is achieved by the addition of the verb *hima* ‘be able to’ in the matrix clause. Examples are given in (11.10a) and (11.10b):

(11.10) a.

<i>tibi</i>	<i>khaŋ-saŋa</i>	<i>ne-ma</i>	<i>hid-i-ki-niŋ</i>
television	watch-CVB	study-INF	be.able-p-NPST-NEG

‘We study without watching television.’
 Not: ‘We neither study nor watch television.’ [Elicited_2012]

b.

<i>makkai</i>	<i>ca-saŋa</i>	<i>phəŋ-ma</i>	<i>hid-i-ki-niŋ</i>
maize	eat-CVB	plough-INF	be.able-p-NPST-NEG

‘We plough without eating maize.’
 Not: We neither plough nor eat maize.’ [Elicited_2012]

The negation marker on the embedded converbal clause is not attested in Chintang except in the lexicalized verb *mahima* ‘be not able to’ (literally ‘be sick’).

- (11.14) *way-saŋa* *khaʔ-no* *aŋ*
 climb-CVB [3sS]go-NPST Q
 ‘Does he GO by climbing?’
 ‘Does he go (up) by CLIMBING?’ [CLLDCh2R14S03.0732]

The nominative-marked interrogative pronoun *salə* ‘who’ in the following example may question either the S argument of the matrix clause or the P argument of the embedded clause.

- (11.15) *sa-lo* *pas-saŋa* *khad-e*
 who-NOM call-CVB [3sS]go-PST
 ‘Who went away by calling?’ [Fieldwork_2010]

Imperative scope is always conjunct with *-saŋa*. The following examples illustrate that both the matrix and embedded clauses are within the scope of the imperative.

- (11.16) a. *ghāsa* *hek-saŋa* *bhukt-a-c-a* *khele*
 grass cut-CVB heap-IMP-d-IMP Kh.
 ‘Khele, cut the grass and heap it up!’ [CLLDCh1R03S01.0597]
- b. *haleʔ* *mo* *rik-saŋa* *thapt-u-c-a* *haleʔ*
 quickly CIT chase-CVB bring.across-3P-d-IMP quickly
 ‘Please, chase and bring them quickly.’ [CLLDCh1R10S09. 667]
- c. *ca-saŋa* *hale* *khokt-a-ʔ*
 eat-CVB quickly cut-IMP-EMPH
 ‘Cut quickly and eat (the seed of a pumpkin).’ [CLLDCh1R05S05.735]
 (The speaker tells the addressee who was doing nothing before to now start
 eating and do this by cutting it into pieces.)

The example in (11.17) shows that the *-saŋa* clause allows both the focus particle *=ta* and the additive focus marker *=yaŋ* in Chintang.

- (11.17) *akka* *a-mik* *sip-saŋa=ta=yaŋ* *khaiʔ-yā-loĩ-ya-ʔă*
 1s 1sPOSS-eye shut.eyes-CVB=FOC₁=ADD go-1sS-out-1sS-NPST
 ‘I can go (leave) even closing my eyes.’ [CLLDCh1R06S03.1196]

11.1.2 The purposive converb *-si*

The purposive clause is marked by the suffix *-si*, which is glossed as ‘PURP’ in this chapter. Like in many other Kiranti languages, the purposive clause is typically restricted to verbs of motion: a person or an animal moves or moves something to some place in order to achieve something. In the embedded clauses, the *-si* marked constituent functions as head of the clause which appears in the periphery of another clause.⁴ Like in the *-saja* converbal clauses, the S/A arguments of the main clause must have control over the embedded clause as well. Examples are given in (11.18):

- (11.18) a. *koĩ-si* *khad-e* *gonei* *yo* *bhunte*
 search-PURP [3sS]go-PST ATTN₁ DEM.ACROSS Bh.
 ‘Bhunte went to search the thing (which he had lost).’ [CLDLCh3R05S04.102]
- b. *kappe* *huy=go-i?* *im-si* *lik-no*
 K. DEM=NMLZ₁-FLOC sleep-PURP [3sS]enter-NPST
 ‘Kappe goes there to sleep.’ [CLLDCh3S12R04 211]
- c. *a-kancha* *la-si* *pajs-u-hẽ=ta=na*
 1sPOSS-youngest.male bring-PURP send-3P-1sA.PST=FOC₁=TOP
 ‘I sent my youngest son to bring (meat).’ [CLLDCh1R03S01.0797]

In our corpus *-si* very rarely occurs with stative verbs. The same constraint has also been noted for neighboring Belhare (Bickel 2004b). One example of this type is given in (11.19), with the verb *yuy-* ‘be’.

- (11.19) *beuli* *cop-si* *yuw-e*
 bride look-PURP [3sS]be-PST
 ‘He stayed there to see the bride.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

⁴ In Limbu, the purposive meaning can also be expressed by infinitives, as illustrated in the following example from Taplejung dialect of Limbu. This holds true for Nepali as well, but I am not aware of such clauses in Chintang.

- (11.20) *ij^hə^hen* *k^he-ma* *k^hune?* *hara* *ler-u*
 news=PTCL hear-INF 3s early leave-PST
 ‘She left early in order to hear the news.’ [Limbu 2009]

Person agreement can be expressed in the dependent clause, but it is quite different from independent clauses. In examples (11.24a,b), the P argument of the verb in the embedded clause is marked by a possessive prefix which expresses a different person from the one in the main clause. This is shown by the following examples:

- (11.24) a. *i-cop-si* *u-ti-a-ŋs-e* *naŋ*
 2sPOSS-see-PURP 3nsS-come-PST-PERF-PST BUT
 ‘They have come to see you.’ [CLLDCh1R02S03a.108]
- b. *u-khaŋ-si* *thab-a-ŋs-e* *aseĩgosana*
 3sPOSS-watch-PURP come.level-PST-PERF-PST two.days.before
 ‘He has come to see her the day before yesterday.’ [CLDLCh3R01S02.457]

11.1.2.1 Scope of negation

In contrast to the *-sana* converbal clause, the negation scope in purposive clause is conjunct, i.e. the scope extends to the main clause and the dependent clause. Unlike in Puma purposive clause (Schackow et al. 2012), the scope of negation cannot be restricted to the main clause only in Chintang. The negation marking on the main verb always extends to the embedded clause, as shown in (11.25a,b).

- (11.25) a. *samjhana* *bakhra* *ghāsa* *hek-si* *khaʔ-nik-niŋ*
 S. goat grass cut-PURP [3sS]go-NPST-NEG
 ‘Samjhana doesn't go to cut grass for the goat.’
 (=Samjhana neither goes nor cuts grass for the goat.) [CLLDCh3R10S04.576]
- b. *meĩ* *jāc-e* *num-si=yaŋ* *mai-khaiʔ-yokt-o-ŋs-e* *hola*
 FILLER check-V.NTVZ do-PURP=ADD NEG-take-NEG-3P-PERF-PST probably
 ‘They probably have not taken it to check.’
 (=They neither took it nor checked.) [CLLDCh3R13S04.0596]

Besides this, Chintang also allows to negate the purposive clause on its own. For this, Chintang employs a different form of negation to code negative purpose. To achieve this, a particle *maha* ‘be.not’ is used in the dependent clause, rather than a negative marking suffix on the verb. This can be seen in examples (11.26a,b).

- (11.26) a. *cuwa la-si maha khus-si khad-a-ŋs-a=kha*
 water bring-PURP be.not steal-PURP [3sS]go-PST-PERF-PST=NMLZ₂
 ‘He did not go to bring water, but to steal things.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *ghāsa hek-si maha siŋ khop-si khad-a-ŋs-a=kha*
 grass cut-PURP be.not wood search-PURP [3sS]go-PST-PERF-PST=NMLZ₂
 ‘He did not go to cut grass, but to search woods.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

11.1.2.2 Scope of question

Like in the simultaneous converbal clause, there is no clear evidence for *sa* ‘who’ questions in the purposive clauses. There is one example where *sa* appears inside the subordinate clause, but semantically it clearly belongs to both the matrix and embedded clauses.

- (11.27) *dhoṛi sa-lo cup-si luk-no?*
 door who-ABS close-PURP enter-NPST
 ‘Who will enter to close the door?’ [CLLDCh3R02S05.513]

There are also cases where the scope of the question is ambiguous, as in the following examples:

- (11.28) a. *sa-lo cop-si khad-e*
 who-ABS see-PURP go-PST
 ‘Who went to see? or ‘To whom s/he went to see?’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *sa-lo pas-si khad-e*
 who-ABS call-PURP go-PST
 ‘Who went to call?’ or ‘To whom s/he went to call?’ [CLLDCh2R02S06.1237]

But we have ample corpus data which shows that it is possible to have *them* ‘what’, *aŋ* ‘what’, *theke* ‘why’, and *hokke* ‘where’ in the embedded clause. This is illustrated in (11.29a), (11.29b) and (11.29c).

- (11.29) a. *uttame theke cuwa nak-si thab-e*
 U. why water ask-PURP [3sS]come-PST
 ‘Why did Uttam come to ask water?’ [CLLDCh1R02S04b.0830]

- b. *them cop-si khad-e*
 what see-PURP [3sS]go-PST
 ‘What did he go to see?’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- c. *aŋ num-si ti-e*
 Q do-PURP [3sS]come-PST
 ‘What did he come for?’ [Fieldwork_2010]

However, our data clearly show that imperatives have conjunct scope in purposive clauses in Chintang. This is illustrated in the following examples:

- (11.30) a. *hale? bakhra ghāsa hek-si khad-a-nihã*
 quickly goat grass cut-PURP go-IMP-p.IMP
 ‘Go quickly and cut grass for the goat!’ [CLLDCh3R10S04.578]
- b. *khaŋ-si khad-a*
 see-PURP go-IMP
 ‘Go and see!’ [CLLDCh3R09S08.0052]

Both the embedded and the matrix clause can be focused with additive focus clitics and topicalizers (11.31).

- (11.31) *akka=yaŋ kok ca-si=na kuŋ-ŋa-ŋã*
 1s=ADD rice eat-PURP=TOP come.down-1sS-NPST
 ‘I also come to have rice.’ [CLLDCh1R11S03.279]

11.1.3 The negation converb *mai-* *-ma*

The negation converb clause is the third most frequent non-finite clause in Chintang. It is formed with a combination of the regular negation marking prefix *mai-* and the infinitive suffix *-ma* ‘INF’ and indicates that an action denoted by a main verb takes place without being supported by the event denoted by the converbal clause. Like the other converbal clauses, the

negation converb clause is also nonfinite and fully dependent in nature.⁵ The following are some examples of negation converbal clauses:

- (11.32) a. *mai-soŋ-ma* *yur-ŋik-ŋiŋ=ta=kha*
 NEG-move-INF sit-NPST-NEG=IPFV₂=NMLZ₂
 ‘She does not sit without moving.’ [CLDLCh3R01S03.509]
- b. *mai-kham-ma=ta* *min-no*
 NEG-chew-INF=FOC₁ swallow-NPST
 ‘He swallows without chewing.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- c. *mai-haĩ-ma=ta* *khad-a-loĩs-e* *hola*
 NEG-discuss-INF=FOC₁ go-PST-OUT₁-PST probably
 ‘He has probably gone without talking.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.570]

Negation converb clauses are quite different from the mere negation of infinitives. This is because if it were simply a negation of an infinitival form of the verb, it would have been possible to formulate the clause without a negation marker, too. As the negation marking on the infinitival form of verb is obligatory, this makes it different from general negation.

Unlike in *-saŋa* and *-si* converbal clauses, there is no obligatory coreferentiality in negative subordinate clauses. A negative converb clause can take its own argument, which is not necessarily identical with the arguments of the matrix clause, as illustrated in (11.33).

- (11.33) *mai-pi-ma=ta* *akka* *pi-ŋa-?ã-ŋiŋ*
 NEG-give-INF=FOC₁ 1s give-1sA-NPST-NEG
 ‘I do not give it before (someone) gives me.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

The negation converbal clause normally does not take any inflectional marking. However, there are a few examples in our corpus where it takes *-ce* ‘3nsP’.

⁵ According to Ebert (Ebert 2003: 31), all Kiranti languages except Camling have a negative converb. In a number of Kiranti languages, this is a regular negation which forms a converbal clause. But unlike in other Kiranti languages which use *-sa* to mark simultaneous converb, Hayu reserves it only for the negation converb (Ebert 2003).

- (11.34) *kad-e-hě hani gor-ce=yaŋ ma-khaŋ-ma-ce=ta*
 go-PST-1s.PST 2sPOSS ox-ns=ADD NEG-look-INF-3nsP=FOC₁
 ‘I came up (here) without looking for your oxen.’ [CLLDCh2R04S04.0615/0616]

The clause in example (11.35) is an interesting example because it is not the S of *kai?ma* that is coreferential with the S of *khade* in the main clause, but rather its deep A, marked as possessor.

- (11.35) *halei u-laja=ta ma-kai?-ma=ta khad-e*
 EXCLA 3sPOSS-shame=FOC₁ NEG-come.up-INF=FOC₁ go-PST
 ‘He went without feeling any shame.’ [CLLDCh1R03S01.0584]

There is very limited data to describe the various scope phenomena of negation converb clause. But fortunately, there is an example which shows that the scope of question can be on the embedded clause. In sentence (11.36), the speaker wants to know whether ‘she eats before walking around.’

- (11.36) *kok mai-ca-ma=ta ko-no elo*
 rice NEG-eat-INF=FOC₁ walk.around-NPST or
 ‘Does she walk around without eating rice?’ [CLLDCh2R09S02.231]

11.2 Finite subordination

Non-finite clauses are not only means of forming complex sentences in Chintang. Finite clauses are also used very productively. A finite clause contains a finite verb, which is inflected for tense, aspect (optionally), mood,⁶ person, and number. There are four types of finite adverbial clauses in Chintang: adverbial clauses with *-lo(k)*, conditional clauses with *=haŋ*, sequential clauses with *=ki/kina/kinana* and concessive clause with *nuseyaŋ*. Moreover, there are a number other finite clauses (with a temporal meaning) which are constructed with borrowed conjunctions from Nepali. Finite adverbial clauses can be placed pre- as well as

⁶ Subjunctive mood in nonpast has no dedicated marker in Chintang. It is rather coded by the absence of any marker.

post-sententially. But the unmarked position of a non-finite adverbial clause is before the main clause.⁷

11.2.1 The adverbial clause with *-lo(k)*

The adverbial subordinator *-lo(k)* is the most versatile clause-linker in Chintang. It is mostly suffixed to the subjunctive form of the verbs and conveys various meanings, such as simultaneity, manner, and purpose. However, there are also a few examples where the verb in the embedded clause is fully inflected for tense, aspect, and person. Like converbal clauses, *-lo(k)* clause also precedes the matrix clause, although there are some examples where the *-lo(k)*-clause appears following the matrix clause. Examples (11.37a-c) illustrate that a main clause event and an embedded clause event can occur simultaneously.

- (11.37) a. *ik thog-i-yakt-i-lok khic-e numd-i*
 field dig-p-IPFV-p-SIM record-V.NTVZ do-p
 ‘Let’s record while digging the field.’ [CLDLCh3R01S03.086]
- b. *duda thuj-na-yak-lok=yaŋ khic-e u-numd-o-ko*
 milk suck-NA-TEL-SIM=ADD record-V.NTVZ do-3P-NPST
 ‘They record (the baby) even while sucking the milk.’ [CLDLCh3R01S03.396]
- c. *akka khai?-ya-?ã-lok caklet pi-na-?ã ni hana*
 1s go-1sS-NPST-SIM toffee give-1>2-NPST FOC₂ 2s
 ‘I give you a toffee when I leave.’ [CLLDCh1R13S02.0220]

Another common function of *-lok* clauses is to express manner. It describes how an actions is performed in the main clause, as illustrated in (11.38).

- (11.38) a. *akka tuk-lok pi-ma lap-na-?ã*
 1s hurt-SIM give-INF be.about.to-1>2-1s.NPST
 ‘I am about to beat you severely.’ [CLLDCh1R09S07.0278]
- b. *utti=kina meĩ-ŋa siyala-ŋa lim-lok c-o-kko*
 then=SEQ FILLER-ERG jackal-ERG be.tasty-SIM [3sA]eat-3P-NPST
 ‘Then, the jackal eats in a tasty way.’ [story_bird.009]

⁷ This supports Greenberg (1963:83-84) and Diessel (2001:433-436) who observe that in OV languages adverbial clauses usually precede the main clause.

In limited examples, the *-lok* clause shows a *destination* in time. The example in (11.39) illustrates a destination in terms of time, which has the meaning of ‘until’.

- (11.39) *akka* *a-sakma* *yuŋ-no-lok* *chintaŋ-be* *yuŋ-ŋa-ʔã*
 1s 1sPOSS-breath be-NPST-SIM Chintang-LOC live-1sS-NPST
 ‘I live in Chintang until I have my (last) breath.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

It is possible to have overt arguments in both dependent and matrix clauses, and the arguments are not required to be coreferential, as in (11.40).

- (11.40) *ah* *nam* *chott-a-kt-e* *khad-i-yakt-i-ŋa-lok*
 FILLER sun be.sunny-PST-IPFV₁-PST go-p-IPFV₁-p-e-SIM
 ‘Well, the sun was shining brightly when we were going.’ [them_talk.092]

11.2.1.1 Scope of negation

Unlike in Puma where the main clause negation markers do not scope over the *-lo* clause (Schackow et al. 2012), in Chintang the main clause negation affects only the subordinate clause, not the matrix clause. This holds true for Belhare as well (see Bickel 1993: 31).⁸ This is illustrated in examples (11.41a) and (11.41b).

- (11.41) a. *anaja* *cha* *yu-i-yakt-i-ŋa-lok* *mai-u-ta-yokt-a-ŋs-e*
 1pe child be-p-IPFV₁-p-e-SIM NEG-3nsS-come-PERF-PST
 ‘(Vehicles) have come (to our village) now, but not when we were children.’
 [phidang_talk. 442]
- b. *cuʔ-nu-lok* *sumd-u-m-nim* *para*
 be.good-be.good-SIM make.sth.airproof-3P-1nsA-NGE COND₂
 ‘if we do not shelter it (from wind) properly’ [thi_numma.51]

The cognate forms of *-lok/-lo* are found across a number of Kiranti languages with more or less the same function and meaning, cf. Puma *-lo* (Schackow 2008), Belhare *-lo(k)* (Bickel 1993), Kulung *-lo* (Tolsma 2006). Moreover, in some Kiranti languages, for example in Athpare, the

⁸ This phenomenon has been defined as a case of ‘negation transfer’.

In Chintang, it is possible for the dependent clauses to describe a set of alternative situations that stand in contrast to the matrix clause situation. In this case, each dependent clause is followed by a concessive conjunction. This is illustrated by the following example, where both the dependent clauses are marked with the conjunction *nusayaŋ*.

- (11.43) *hana* *iskul* *a-khai?* *nusayaŋ* *a-khai?-niŋ* *nusayaŋ*
 2s school 2sS-go CNSV 2sS-go-NEG CNSV
- akka* *caĩ* *khai?-ya-?ã*
 1s SPEC.TOP go-1sS-NPST
- ‘Whether you go to school or not, I am going anyway.’ [Elicited_2012]

The concessive conjunction usually follows the dependent verb, although sometimes it may be found in other positions. In the following example, *nusayaŋ* follows an adverb.

- (11.44) *kekt-o-ko* *dinbhari* *nusayaŋ* *kekt-o-ko*
 hold-3P-NPST whole.day CNSV hold-3P-NPST
- ‘He carries it although he has to carry it the whole day.’ [CLDLCh3R01S04.115]

Furthermore, the concessive conjunction is frequently attested after nominal clauses, as illustrated in (11.45a,b).

- (11.45) a. *appi=ta* *nuseyaŋ* *khon-ŋa*
 REFL=FOC₁ CNSV play-1sS
- ‘Even if (it’s) only myself, I will play.’ [CLLDCh1R13S02.0727]
- b. *joso* *nuseyaŋ* *dhukka* *numd-e*
 whatever CNSV hard.work [3sA]do-PST
- ‘Whatever it was, he worked hard!’ [CLLDCh2R10S04. 931]

There is not enough data to describe the various scope phenomena in concessive clauses. However, there is an example in our corpus where the matrix clause negation cannot extend beyond the matrix clause (11.46a). So, the scope of negation is local in concessive constructions. Examples (11.46b) and (11.46c) show that the dependent clause can also be negated independently.

- (11.46) a. *u-phok tuk-no nuseyaŋ car pan geda-ŋa latt-o-ko-niŋ*
 3sPOSS-belly hurt-NPST CNSV four five CLF-ERG be.enough-3P-NPST-NEG
 ‘Though his stomach is aching, four or five pieces are not enough for him.’
 [CLLDCh2R10S10 463]
- b. *a-makcha-ŋa chitt-o-niŋ*
 1sPOSS-daughter.in.law-ERG find-3P-NEG
- nusayaŋ loĩ-ma=ta parcha mo cek-no*
 CNSV take.out-INF=FOC₁ should CIT say-NPST
- ‘Even though my daughter-in-law does not have time, we should take it out’,
 he says! [CLLDCh2R03S03.0833]
- c. *aka ekbheni man-ca=ta nuseyaŋ hi-ya-ã*
 1s early.morning NEG-eat=FOC₁ CNSV be.able.to-1sS-NPST
- ‘I can survive though I do not eat early in the morning.’ [CLLDCh4R03S02.0237]

In my survey of the Chintang corpus, I found that the concessive clause always precedes the matrix clause in Chintang. In most cases, the matrix clause and dependent clause events are simultaneous with respect to the time scope determined by the context and situation, as illustrated in the above examples.

11.2.3 Causal clause -ŋa

Causal clauses are expressed by nominalizing a clause and then marking it with the ergative marker -ŋa. In these examples, the ergative covers causal meaning in general.

- (11.47) a. *ba=go meĩ namphan-a=go-sa-ŋa=le naŋ*
 DEM.PROX=NMLZ₁ FILLER be.sunny-PST=NMLZ₁-OBL-ERG=RESTR BUT
- carko=ta meĩ-ce bali-ce sima-iʔ-ma u-lapt-e*
 much=FOC FILLER-ns crop-ns die-INF-COMPL₁-INF 3nsS-start-PST
- ‘The crops started to die only because of the sun.’ [Gen_talk.113/ Gen_talk.114]
- b. *hun-ce u-ned-a=go-sa-ŋa akka=yaŋ ned-ehẽ*
 3-ns 3nsS-read-PST=NMLZ₁-OBL-ERG 1s=ADD study-1.sA.PST
- ‘Since they (my parents) were educated, I studied, too.’ [chintang_now. 727]

- (11.51) a. *bengal khad-e-hē bhane*
a_place go-PST-1sS.PST time
bengal-beʔ=ta yuŋ-no daūtari kam-ce
a_place-LOC=FOC₁ be-NPST age.group friend-ns
'When I go to Bengal, my friends are in Bengal, too.'
[chintang_sahid.296/chintang_sahid.297]
- b. *anaja talim-be=ta hokhi ma-cind-a=kha bhane*
1pe training-LOC=FOC₁ what eP-teach-PST=NMLZ₂ time
ani yiŋ-lamma u-nis-o-ko para
1pi language-MED 3nsS-know-3P-NPST COND₂
ani riŋ-lamma=yay cĩ-ma-ce
1pi language-MED=ADD teach-INF-3nsP
'What we were taught in our training is that if they know our language we teach them in our language.' [Durga_job.024], [Durga_job.025], [Durga_job.026]

11.2.4.3 The conjunction *pacche*

The sequential marker *pacche* is developed from Nepali *pachi* 'after', which describes an event taking place before the matrix clause event. It expresses temporal anteriority in Chintang. The arguments in the embedded and in the main clauses do not need to be coreferential. Like other temporal conjunctions, *pacche* is attested with both indicative and subjunctive forms.

- (11.52) a. *uncu-mau-ce u-kha-u-ce pacche*
3nsPOSS-mother-ns 3nsA-see-3P-3nsP SEQ
cha-ce jamma u-hap-no=ta
child-ns all 3nsS-cry-NPST=FOC₁
'After they see their mothers all children cry.'
[CLLDCh1R02S04.0941/CLLDCh1R02S04.0942]
- b. *ani-taŋ kham lup pacche pa-nik-niŋ=kha=lo*
1piPOSS-head soil stick SEQ grow-NPST-NEG=FOC=SURP
'One's hair does not grow well after getting soil on one's head.' [Elicited_2012]
- c. *kali-ŋa nob-e pacche huŋ=go alpe lis-a=kha*
iron.age-ERG touch-PST SEQ DEM=NMLZ₁ disappear be-PST=BRG
'It disappeared after the iron age affected it.' [Chambak_int.0276]

The *pacche* clause mostly precedes the matrix clause in Chintang. There are extremely few examples where it appears following the matrix clause. The sequential marker *pacche* appears adjacent to the verb in most of the examples, but there are still few examples, like the one in (11.53), which show that adjacency is not a required factor for *pacche*-clauses.

- (11.53) *pacche yakkheŋ thukt-e-hě, kok hams-e-hě*
 SEQ curry cook-PST-1sA.PST, rice serve-PST-1sA.PST
 ‘I served the rice after cooking curry.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.551/CLDLCh2R02S02.552]

11.2.4.4 Scope of imperatives in temporal clauses

There is not enough data to check the scope of question and negation in temporal clauses. However, there are some sentences which show that the scope of imperative is restricted to the matrix clause only. This is illustrated by the following examples.

- (11.54) a. *kassikana im-no garda or-o-kh-o na*
 forcefully sleep-NPST time strike-3P-CON-3P INSIST
 ‘Hit him forcefully while he is sleeping.’ [CLLDCh1R13S02.0884]
- b. *dhanakuṭā khai?-ma bela khed-a na*
 Dh. go-INF time buy-IMP INSIST
 ‘Buy one when you go to Dhanakuṭā.’ [Elicited_2012]
- c. *thu pacche pempak ci-a na o*
 cook SEQ bread eat-IMP INSIST RECONF
 ‘Eat bread after it is cooked, okay.’ [CLLDCh3S12R04 302]

Finally, there are some temporal clauses which are nominalized in Chintang. In the following example, the subordinate verb is marked by the nominalizer =*go*.

- (11.55) *hunce u-yuŋ=go taim-be akka hunce*
 3ns 3nsS-be=NMLZ₁ time-LOC 1s 3ns
khai?ya kina cind-u-ku-ŋ-c-u-ŋ
 go-1sS SEQ teach-3P-NPST-1sA-3nsP-1sA
 ‘When they are here, I go and teach them.’ [Elicited_2012]

Though there are not much examples of nominalized adverbial clauses in our corpus, it is possible to elicit them with the temporal conjunctions *jaba* and *bela* as well.

11.3 Variable subordination

In this section I describe the conditional linkers *=haŋ*, *para/panta* and the sequential *=kina*, which appear with both finite and nonfinite clauses in Chintang. For lack of a better term, I label these subordinators ‘variable subordinators’, and describe them under variable subordination.

Since Haiman (1978), a general assumption about the conditional clauses is that conditionals play the role of topics. This notion is also supported by Bickel’s term what he calls “adsentential subordination” (Bickel 1991, 1993). In this case, adsentential subordination, in contrast to the other adverbial clauses described in the preceding sections, “combines nominal topics with clauses that are adjoined to another clause or sentence” (Bickel 1993:23). The notion of topic in this sense provides “a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds” (Chafe 1976:50, as cited in Bickel *ibid.*) or “the universe of discourse with respect to which the subsequent predication is presented as relevant” (Dik 1978:19, as cited in Bickel *ibid.*) In line with this, I describe the Chintang conditional clauses as topic clauses, which provide the situational and referential framework for the subsequent piece of discourse.

11.3.1 The conditional clause *=haŋ*

There are three different conditional subordinators in Chintang: *=haŋ*, and *para/panta*, which I label as ‘COND₁ and COND₂’ in this work. All of these forms can appear in the same semantic and syntactic environment and mark a condition of the main clause. They express that the action in the main clause can only take place if a certain condition (expressed by the conditional clause) is fulfilled. Unlike *para/panta* (see §11.3.2) which appear with both finite and non-finite verbs, *=haŋ* is restricted to finite verbs. According to the Chintang corpus, *=haŋ* appears with both the indicative and subjunctive form of the dependent verb. The indicative is used for the unreal condition in past (perfect). In a present unreal condition, a subjunctive form is used in the *=haŋ* conditional clause.

The conditional clause usually precedes the main clause in Chintang. The following are some examples of *=haŋ* conditional clauses in the indicative:

- (11.56) a. *yo-patti=go=yaŋ* *a-putt-u-thapt-e=haŋ*
 DEM.ACROSS-DIR₁=NMLZ=ADD 2sA-pluck-3P-bring-PST=COND₁
- iss-a-kt-e* *naŋ*
 damage-PST-IPFV₁-PST BUT
- ‘It would have been damaged, if you had brought that (cucumber) also (here).’
 [CLLDCh3R04S03.0213]
- b. *lut-e* *u-mett-e=haŋ* *hanci* *paisa* *a-tog-a-k-a-c-e*
 loot-V.NTVZ 3nsA-do-PST=COND₁ 2d money 2sA-get-PST-IPFV₁-PST-d-PST
- ‘If they had looted you, would you have had money now?’ [dkt-ktm-trip.0243]
- c. *akka kha-a-siŋs-e-hẽ=haŋ=na* *tog-a-k-e-hẽ=kha*
 1s ask-2-ask-PST-1sA.PST=COND₁=TOP get-PST-IPFV₁-PST-1sA.PST=NMLZ₂
- ‘If you had asked me, I would have had.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

Besides the clauses marked by indicative, *=haŋ* also appear with subjunctive forms, as illustrated in the following example. As shown in this example, the matrix clause also often appears in the subjunctive form.

- (11.57) *chitt-u-ŋ=haŋ=na* *kaplakkupluk* *ek chak-a* *mett-u-ŋ phe*
 find-3P-1sA=COND₁=TOP IDEOPH one meal-N.NTVZ do-3P-1sA IRR
- ‘If I found him, I would eat him up in a gulp.’ [story_cat.213]

Besides finite verbs, the conditional marker *=haŋ* also frequently appears in clauses headed by nominals. This is exactly like the Belhare sequential adverbial *-huŋ* (Bickel 1993), which is etymologically related to a nominal ablative case, occurring in combination with a locative marker. This holds true for Chintang as well. But unlike in Belhare, the so-called adverbial *=haŋ* is usually topicalized with the topicalizer *=na* in Chintang.

- (11.58) a. *khim-be=haŋ=na* *u-luŋs-e-hẽ* *phe*
house-LOC=COND₁=TOP 3nsA-put-PST-1sP.PST IRR
‘If it was at home, they would have kept for me.’¹⁰ [CLLDCh2R02S06.312]
- b. *manche haŋ=na* *bha-mu* *somma kuŋs-a-ci-a-kt-e*
be.not COND₁=TOP DEM-DOWN up.to come.down-PST-COMPL₃-PST-IPFV₁-PST
‘If not, he would have come up to here.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.120]

The conditional marker =*haŋ* also frequently occurs with a main clause followed by *phe* ‘irrealis’. In this case, the main function of *phe* is to express a counterfactual past events, irreal wishes, thoughts or believes of the speaker. The verb in the dependent clause then should be either in the subjunctive or in the indicative mood, as in (11.59).

- (11.59) a. *naklasi taŋ* *lett-u-hẽ=haŋ* *thu-a-ŋs-e* *phe*
banana tree plant-3P-1sA.PST=COND₁ ripe-PST-PERF-PST IRR
‘It would have riped, if I had planted a banana tree.’ [Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *akka* *lab-a-t-u-hẽ* *phe* *u-yu-ba=haŋ*
1s catch-PST-COMPL₁-3P-1sA.PST IRR DIST-DEM.ACROSS-LOC=COND₁
‘I would have caught it if it was there.’ [CLLDCh3R11S03.283]
- c. *akka baddhe phe?wa* *tog-e-hẽ=haŋ* *thitta khim* *khed-e-hẽ* *phe*
1s very money get-PST-1sA.PST=COND₁ one house buy-PST-1sA.PST IRR
‘If had a lot of money, I would have bought a house.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

The examples in (11.59) show that the conditional form is also used in the main clause. In this case, we can see that both the main and embedded clauses express a kind of conditionality. Both the =*haŋ* and *phe* are obligatory in the above sentences.

¹⁰ Bickel (1993) makes a distinction between the adverbial -*huŋ* and the subordinator *huŋ* in Belhare. As the subordinator *huŋ* can never occur without being supported by a focus or reportative particle in Belhare, there are some clear semantic and syntactic contrasts between these two types of *huŋ*. I have not noticed such contrasts in Chintang.

- (11.62) a. *boni? khai?-ma para wanda akka jhanna chitt-u-ku-η-niη=kha*
 help go-INF COND₂ tomorrow 1s nearly find-3P-NPST-1sA-NEG=NMLZ₂
 ‘If I have to go to help tomorrow, I cannot make it.’ [CLDLCh3R01S02.206]
- b. *chuk-ma para bai? ba-sa-ηa=lo mai-lap-ma*
 jump-INF COND₂ DEM.PROX DEM.PROX-OBL-ERG=SURP NEG-hold-INF
 ‘If (you) jump, (you should jump) without holding here with this!’
 [CLLDCh3R11S04.191]

Moreover, it is also possible to find *para/panta* with nominals. Following are the examples:

- (11.63) a. *dui ruppe panta to jhola khatt-u-η*
 two rupee COND₂ DEM.UP bag take-3P-1sA
 ‘If (you give me) two rupees, I may take the bag.’ [CLLDCh4R11S05.125]
- b. *sakti u-ppa-niη para cahī khai?-ma=ta mo ni*
 S. 3sPOSS-father-COM COND₂ SPEC.TOP go-INF=FOC₁ CIT FOC₂
 ‘As for with Shakti’s father, I can go with him.’ [CLDLCh3R01S03.440]
- c. *the=kha haη=lo thor ham-ma ca-ma nu*
 big=NMLZ₂ COND₂=SURP little divide-INF eat-INF be.fine
 ‘If it is big, it will be better to divide it before eating it.’ [CLLDCh4R05S05 267]

I did not find any differences in the meanings of these two subordinators. When I test it with my consultants, I see them substituting both *para/panta* in any context without any change in meaning. I consequently gloss them both as COND₂.

11.3.2.1 Scope of negation

The scope of negation in *para/panta* conditional clause is not clear. In example (11.64a) the condition is negated although the negation marker is on the matrix clause. So the scope of negation is on the adjoined clause. But (11.64b) does not negate the condition and the scope is restricted only on the matrix clause.

- (11.64) a. *carko cekt-i para si-a-d-i-niη*
 loud speak-1p COND₂ die-NA-COMPL₁-p-NEG
 ‘If we speak loud, we wouldn’t die.’ [CLLDCh3R14S01.0311]

- b. *a-thams-e* *para akka ni-ŋa-ʔã-niŋ*
 2sS-fall.down-PST COND₂ 1s know-1sS-NPST-NEG
 ‘If you fell down, I don't care.’ [CLLDCh3R14S02.616]

Example (11.65) shows that it is possible to negate the conditional clause in Chintang. But in this case the scope is restricted to the dependent clause only.

- (11.65) *na-pi-nik-niŋ* *para akka pi-na-ʔã*
 3>2-give-NPST-NEG COND₂ 1s give-1>2-NPST
 ‘If he does not give you, I will give you.’ [Elicited_2012]

In addition to the *haŋ*, *para* and *panta* conditional clauses, counterfactual conditional clauses are expressed by a grammaticalized participle *bhapo* (<*bhaye po* or *bhapo*) borrowed from Nepali, as in (11.66).

- (11.66) *loĩ-ma* *hid-o* *bhapo=na*
 take.out-INF be.able-3P COND=TOP
 ‘If you were able to take it out, (you would have got some of it.)’ [CLLDCh3R05S01 745]

11.3.3 Sequential clauses =*ki*, =*kina*, =*kinana*¹¹

The sequential marker =*ki*/=*kina*/=*kinana* joins two finite events which happen one after the other. They differ from other subordinators like *-saŋa*, *-si*, *-lok*, and *=haŋ* insofar as they do not restrict the morphology of their host element. The verb in the subordinate clause can be in indicative, subjunctive or in imperative mood. Moreover, this sequential marker is also found frequently with nominals and also as a clause-initial particle.

The sequential marker =*ki*/=*kina*/=*kinana* mostly follows a fully inflected verb and links two full-fledged clauses. This is illustrated in (11.67) with fully inflected indicative forms.

- (11.67) a. *kok a-ci-a-c-e=ki a-kad-a-ce=kha*
 rice 2sA-eat-PST-d-PST=SEQ 2sS-come.up-PST-d=NMLZ₂
 ‘Did you come up after eating rice?’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.0693]

¹¹ I did not find any difference between =*ki*, =*kina*, and =*kinana*, which is why I simply gloss all of them as SEQ in Chintang.

- b. *peronga=na akka khed-u-hẽ=kina*
 basket=TOP 1s buy-3P-1sA.PST=SEQ
hokko-i?-ya tad-u-ɲs-u-hẽ=?
 where-FLOC-ABL bring-3P-PERF-3P-1sA.PST=EMPH
 ‘Where did I buy the bamboo basket and brought it from?’ [CLLDCh1R10S09. 431]
- c. *ama-ɲa=lo kok pid-e=kina im-mett-o-ɲs-e*
 mother-ERG=SURP rice give-PST=SEQ sleep-CAUS-3P-PERF-PST
 ‘Mother has made (the child) sleep after giving (her) rice.’ [CLLDCh1R10S09. 532]

The sequential marker appears following the subjunctive form in the following examples:

- (11.68) a. *im-na-ca=kina khic-e u-numd-o-ko*
 sleep-NA-COMPL₂=SEQ take.picture-V.NTNZ 3nsA-do-3P-NPST
 ‘They film (the baby) while it’s sleeping.’ [CLDLCh3R01S03.391]
- b. *abo a-khai?=kina them na-pi-no*
 now 2sS-go=SEQ what 3>2-give-NPST
 ‘What do they give you when you go (there) now?’ [CLLDCh1R03S01.0606a]
- c. *yaɲs-o mo=kina lett-u-ɲ=kha*
 grow-3P CIT=SEQ plant-3P-1sA=NMLZ₂
 ‘Thinking it will grow, I planted it.’ [CLLDCh1R02S04.1160]

The dependent clause can be marked by an imperative, but only if the same mood is also marked on the main clause, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (11.69) a. *aya=la chums-a=ki thapt-a*
 EXCLA=ATTN₂ tie-IMP=SEQ bring.across-IMP
 ‘Oh! tie and bring it!’ [CLDLCh3R01S04.119]
- b. *khatt-a=kina sopmoy yokt-a o*
 take-IMP=SEQ secretly apply-IMP RECONF
 ‘Please, take it and apply it secretly, okay!’ [CLLDCh1R05S01 437]

As I mentioned earlier, the sequential marker *=kina/=ki/=kinana* can be attached to a non-finite form of the verb, too, as in (11.70). Moreover, examples (11.70b,c) shows that both the embedded and matrix can be non-finite.

- (11.70) a. *jamma loĩ-ma=kina cek-nik-niŋ=yaŋ*
 all take.out-INF=SEQ speak-NPST-NEG=ADD
 ‘Taking all (battery) out, it (radio) may not start (to speak).’ [Elicited_2012]
- b. *ã khaiʔ-ma=kina wahu-ma=kha*
 yes go-INF=SEQ bath-INF=NMLZ₂
 ‘Yes, I go and take a bath.’ [CLLDCh1R11S02.060]
- c. *paĩ=na phultuŋ waiʔ-ma=kina=lo khaiʔ-ma-khaŋ-ma*
 today=TOP shorts wear-INF=SEQ=SURP go-INF-see-INF
 ‘I will go wearing shorts today.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.606]

In example (11.71), *=kina* joins a clause inside an embedded clause.

- (11.71) *u-thurum-be lap-ma=kina ri-ma lapt-u-ŋs-u-hẽ*
 3sPOSS-mouth-LOC hold-INF=SEQ turn-INF be.about.to-3P-PERF-3P-1sA.PST
 ‘I am about to punish [turn] her by holding her mouth.’ [CLLDCh1R10S05.213]

Unlike converb markers, the sequential marker is not necessarily suffixed to verbs, and it need not even be adjacent to the verb either (Ebert 2003). This holds true for Chintang as well. There is no restriction on the host for *=ki/=kina/=kinana*. This proves that *=ki/=kina/=kinana* is not a suffix like *-lo(k)*. In example (11.72a), *=kina* follows a nominal, and in (11.72b), it is used as a clause initiator, this shows that it does not require adjacency to the verb.

- (11.72) a. *sontosi u-chau=kina atta hi-no*
 S. 3sPOSS-child=SEQ how be.big-NPST
 ‘And how big is Sontoshi’s baby?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.057]
- b. *kina to=kina gadi-be u-khatt-e hola*
 SEQ DEM.UP=SEQ vehicle-LOC 3nsA-take-PST probably
 ‘...then she might be taken up on a vehicle’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.112]

11.4 Summary

This chapter has discussed the different types of adverbial clauses in Chintang. Table 11.1 summarizes the major properties of finite, non-finite and variable subordinate clauses discussed in this chapter.

Clause types	Finiteness of DEP	Negation scope	Question scope	Coreferential control	linker
Simultaneous - <i>saŋa</i>	nonfinite	subjunct (11.9a,b)	not clear (11.12 - 11.14)	yes (11.1 - 11.17)	suffix
Purposive - <i>si</i>	nonfinite	conjunct (11.25a,b)	disjunct (11.27 - 11.28)	yes (11.18 - 11.31)	suffix
Negation <i>mai-</i> <i>-ma</i>	nonfinite	not clear (11.33)	subjunct (11.36)	not required (11.33)	suffix
Adverbial - <i>lo(k)</i>	finite	extensible (11.41a,b)	no data	not required (11.40)	suffix
conditional - <i>haŋ</i>	finite	no data	no data	not required (11.56a-c)	conjunction
Concessive <i>nuseyaŋ</i>	finite	local (11.46a)	no data	not required (11.46b)	conjunction
temporal <i>jaba, garda</i>	finite	no data	no data	not required (11.48a,c)	conjunction
conditional <i>para/ panta</i>	variable	not clear (11.64a,b)	no data	not required (11.60a,b)	conjunction
Sequential - <i>ki/kina/kinana</i>	variable	no data	no data	not required (11.68a,b)	conjunction

Table 11.1. Properties of adverbial clauses in Chintang

Section 11.1 describes three different types of converbal clauses in Chintang. Like in other Kiranti languages, the -*saŋa* converbal clause and -*si* purposive clause obligatorily share arguments between embedded and matrix clauses. But in contrast to -*saŋa* and -*si* clauses, there is no obligatory control of arguments in negation converb clauses. All types of converbal clauses do not allow an overt S/A argument in the embedded clause, but they do

allow patients, and locative arguments. All types of converbal clauses have in common that they all allow some sort of focus marker on the subordinate clause. Unlike in Puma and Belhare, the negation scope in *-saŋa* converbal clause is limited to the embedded clause only. But there is no clear evidence to show the scope of questions. However, in contrast to the *-saŋa* converbal clause, the scope of negation is conjunct in *-si* marked purposive clauses. However, Chintang also employs a different strategy when it is necessary to negate the dependent clause. For example, *hima*, *hid-* ‘be able to’ used in the matrix which helps to transport the negation over the *-saŋa* simultaneous converbal clause. The *-si* marked purposive clauses use *maha* ‘be.not’ after the embedded verb which negates only the embedded clause. One of the interesting feature of Chintang converbal clauses is that, unlike in other languages, Chintang purposive clauses can bear person and number marking.

A finite subordinate clause is inflected for tense, aspect (optionally), mood, person and number. There are four types of finite clauses: adverbial clauses with *lok/lo*, conditional clauses with *=haŋ*, sequential clauses with *=kina/=ki* and concessive clauses with *nuseyaŋ*. Besides these markers, Chintang also borrows a number of temporal conjunctions from Nepali to form temporal adverbial clauses.

Generally, all the above subordinate clauses precede the matrix clause. However, all of the subordinate clauses can also be extra-posed to the right detached position without any problem. Moreover, all the clauses have in common that they allow some sort of focus marker inside the embedded clause.

Chapter 12

Particles and Discourse Markers

12.0 Introduction

A particle is a function word that does not belong to any of the inflected grammatical word classes such as nouns, pronouns or verbs (Zwicky 1985, Kroeger 2005). It is a catch-all term for a heterogeneous set of words and terms that lack a precise lexical definition. Particles are a vital component of many Kiranti languages. In my analysis of the Chintang corpus, I found the vast majority of utterances containing particles. High proportions of particle-containing sentences are found throughout the Chintang data, whether one examines narratives or (natural) conversations. All particles, except the borrowed initiator particle *lo*, are post-posed to the syntactic unit they modify. Unlike in some well-studied languages such as Japanese where particles often replace case markers (Vovin 2003, Kroeger 2004:151), particles cannot take the place of case marking suffixes in Chintang. If there are both the particle and the case-marking suffix in a chain, the particle follows the case-marked form.¹

Particles and clitics have received considerable attention in linguistics and they have been intensively investigated in a number of languages. Some of the better known works devoted partly or entirely to this topic are Zwicky (1977), Zwicky and Pullum (1983), Zwicky (1985), and Klavans (1985). I do not define the notion particle in this chapter, but I follow Zwicky (1985) in the way I define and analyze the Chintang particles. From a formal point of view, Chintang particles are either cliticized or phonologically independent. Clitics

¹ Ebert (1997a) and Lahaussois (2002) report similar behavior of particles in the neighboring language Athpare and Thulung respectively.

immediately follow the element in their scope and they are phonologically bound to their hosts. I gloss those bound clitic particles with the equal sign (=) in this work. The non-cliticized particles, described here, are phonologically independent; they bear own stress and behave as separate words. Among the native particles there are six clitics and seven independent words. Moreover, in Chintang, there is a cross-linguistically very rare type of clitic, the endoclititic, which attaches inside a (morphological) word.

This chapter describes Chintang particles in the following three major groups: enclitics, endoclititics and independent particles. Most of the enclitics also appear as endoclititics; so I describe both of them in §12.1. Section 12.2 deals with the particles which are phonologically independent. Finally, §12.3 discusses the most frequent borrowed particles. The frequency of particles in all these classes in Chintang speech is fairly high, and the meaning of each particle is often difficult to describe and render accurately in English. The syntactic functions and meanings encoded by each of the particles is discussed and illustrated with examples in the following sections of this chapter.

12.1 Enclitics and endoclititics

Most of the enclitics in Chintang are focus particles which indicate that the constituent in their scope is focused. The majority of them can also function as an endoclititic, which are attached inside a grammatical word.² In Chintang, endoclititics can be hosted by any and all ω -units (Bickel et al. 2007).

12.1.1 The additive particle =*yaŋ*

The additive particle =*yaŋ* can be roughly translated with English ‘also’ or ‘even’. Unlike the restrictive particle =*le*, which indicates restriction and is discussed later, the additive particle have an ‘inclusive’ interpretation. In example (12.1a), the additive particle =*yaŋ* entails that they went to the funeral procession earlier, too. In the same way, in example (12.1b), the additive particle implies that somebody else took it out as well.

- (12.1) a. *paĩ=yaŋ* *malami* *u-khad-e*
 today=ADD funeral 3nsS-go-PST
 ‘Did they go to the funeral procession today, too?’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.088]

² See Bickel (1996:56) for the similar endoclititics in the neighboring language Belhare.

- b. *a-loĩs-o=yaŋ=kha* *hana=na*
 2sA-take.out-3P=ADD=NMLZ₂ 2s=TOP
 ‘You might also take it out.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.299]

In negative utterances, the particle =*yaŋ* gives a sense of ‘even’, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (12.2) a. *ekcoti=yaŋ* *mai-khaŋ-yokt-u-ŋs-u-hẽ* *akka=na*
 one.time=ADD NEG-see-NEG-3P-PERF-3P-1sA.PST 1s=TOP
 ‘I haven’t seen it even once.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.059]
- b. *thitta=yaŋ* *huni-kipma* *kat-nik-niŋ*
 one=ADD 3nsPOSS-fear [3sS]come.up-NPST-NEG
 ‘They aren’t afraid at all.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.232]
 (lit. They do not afraid even little.)
- c. *manchi panta hai?-ma=yaŋ* *hid-u-m-nim*
 not COND₂ wait-INF=ADD be.able-3P-1nsA-NEG
 ‘If not, we cannot (even) wait her.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.442]

König (1991) reports that it is common for additive particles to combine with interrogative pronouns to form so-called ‘indefinite pronouns’. This also holds true for Chintang.

- (12.3) *a-ppa* *a-mma-ce* *sa-lo=yaŋ* *manche*
 1sPOSS-father 1sPOSS-mother-ns who-ABS=ADD not
 ‘Neither my father nor my mother, nobody at home.’ [ctn_katha 055]

In addition to that, the additive particle =*yaŋ* also functions as an endoclititic. In example (12.4a), it appears in the prefix chain and in (12.4b) in the middle of complex verb forms. This stands in contradiction to the general claim that clitics attach externally, and never within a word (cf. Zwicky 1977, Zwicky and Pullum 1983, Klavans 1985).

- (12.4) a. *kha=yaŋ-cop-no*
 1nsP=ADD-see-NPST
 ‘He also looks at us.’

- b. *lak=yaŋ-lus-e*
 PRV=ADD-dance-PST
 ‘She also danced.’

Moreover, the additive particle =*yaŋ* also serves as a kind of conjunction ‘as soon as’ after subjunctive forms, e.g. *ubheni poknaloĩ=yaŋ kok cano?* [3sPOSS-morning wake.up-NA-OUT=ADD rice eat-NPST] ‘As soon as he gets up in the morning he starts eating rice’ [CLLDCh2R06S02.1240]. There are some instances for the additive particle =*yaŋ* focusing the entire dependent clause (especially sequential ones), as in (12.5).

- (12.5) *thams-e=kina=yaŋ* *ma-hap-t-e*
 fall.down-PST=SEQ=ADD NEG-cry-NEG-PST
 ‘He did not cry even after he fell down.’ [CLLDCh1R06S01. 809]

12.1.2 The restrictive particle =*le*

The restrictive particle =*le* gives the constituent an ‘exclusive’ interpretation, i.e. the thing or action is the only thing or action accessible in the specified context. It appears with a wide variety of constituents, including noun phrases, verbs, and adverbs in Chintang. In example (12.6a), the restrictive focus particle indicates that the set of people who left contains only *hunce* ‘they’. In example (12.6b), the restrictive particle co-occurs with the conditional particle *para* and restricts the condition when the baby talks. In example (12.6c), it follows the finite form of the verb and indicates that the action has just started, but is not completed yet.

- (12.6) a. *hunce=le* *u-khad-a-ŋs-a-c-e*
 3ns=RESTR 3nsS-go-PST-PERF-PST-d-PST
 ‘Only they (two) have gone.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.083]
- b. *amma* *ta* *para=le* *cek-no*
 mother come COND₂=RESTR [3sS]speak-NPST
 ‘(The baby) speaks only when (his) mother comes.’ [CLLDCh1R02S03a.099]
- c. *neŋ-a-nd-o-ŋs-e=le*
 bite-3P-COMPL₂-3P-PERF-PST=RESTR
 ‘He has only bitten (the fruit).’ [CLLDCh1R13S02.1148]

The utterances in (12.8a) and (12.8b) present textual examples of topicalized noun phrases in Chintang. Example (12.8c) illustrates that the topic marker =*na* follows the ergative case marking suffix -*ŋa*.

- (12.8) a. *hani-makkai=na* *temma hou* *pog-a-ŋs-e*
 2pPOSS-maize=TOP good PTCL [3sS]sprout-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘Your maize has been sprouted well.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.320]
- b. *kok=na* *hani* *kaya* *kok=ta* *a-ca-i-ki* *hola* *aŋ*
 rice=TOP 2p paddy rice=FOC₁ 2sA-eat-p-NPST probably Q
 ‘As for rice, you probably eat paddy-rice, don’t you?’ [CLLDCh1R05S05.950]
- c. *bhimsin-ŋa=na* *sei?-ma=lo* *puŋs-u-c-e*
 bh.-ERG=TOP kill-INF=SURP start-3P-3nsP-PST
 ‘Bhimsin started to kill them.’ [origin_myth.401]

In (12.8a), ‘maize’ is a part of the shared knowledge of both speaker and hearer by virtue of visibility and proximity to them. In addition, =*na* is also used to mark nominals whose referents are not proximal physically to the hearer and the speaker, as illustrated in (12.8c). However, the focus marker =*na* cannot be used to mark a generic referent (12.9).

- (12.9) *ma?mi (ma?mi=na*)* *lu-si* *kos-a-ŋs-e*
 person tell-PURP [3sS]walk.around-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘He has gone around to invite people (for help).’ [CLLDCh3R10S04.669]

There is a single example in our corpus where the topic marker =*na* follows a non-finite clause. This is illustrated in (12.10). In this example, the topicalizer follows the non-finite form of the verb, and topicalizes the entire purposive clause.

- (12.10) *akka=yay* *kok* *ca-si=na* *kuŋ-ŋa-?ã*
 1s=ADD rice eat-PURP=TOP come.down-1sS-1s.NPST
 ‘I, too, come down to eat the rice!’ [CLLDCh1R11S03.279]

Besides occurring in noun phrases, the topic marker =*na* is often combined with time adverbials and sequential markers, as illustrated in (12.11a,b).³

³ Ebert (1997a) notes a similar behavior of the topic particle in the neighboring language Athpare.

- (12.11) a. *luja u-taŋ-be=ta catt-e paĩ=na*
 EXCLA 3sPOSS-head-LOC=FOC₁ hit-PST today=TOP
 ‘Oh, he was hit on his head today!’ [CLLDCh1R13S02.0976]
- b. *duĩ ghanta pachi=na*
 two hour SEQ=TOP
 ‘after two hours’ [CLDLCh3R01S04.061]

Generally a topicalized constituent is not emphasised or focused with other additional particles in Chintang. But when a speaker introduces a new sub-topic to make something clear regarding the previous topic, s/he often focuses the referent with the particle *ni*. Example (12.12) occurs in the context where two participants are remembering their bygone days. One of them who is already 82 years old talks about her physical problems which arise due to her age. She says she trembles very much. In the meantime when the other speaker requests her to sing a song, she added that her voice trembles very much. She marks it with both the topic marker *=na* and the emphasis maker *ni*.

- (12.12) *thururuwa yok-no*
 IDEOPH [3sS]tremble-NPST [warisama_talk.066]
- ani-sora=na ni*
 1piPOSS-voice=TOP FOC₂
 ‘Our voice trembles.’ [warisama_talk.067]

An interesting feature of Chintang is that a single clause may have more than one topicalizer, as shown in (12.13).

- (12.13) a. *akka=na masino=go-be?=na biha num-ma-niŋ*
 1s=TOP small=NMLZ₁-LOC=TOP marriage do-1sA-NEG
 ‘As for me, I do not get married when I am small.’ [mouse_story.043]
- b. *lo abo akka=na kok=na bai?=ta ca-ŋa-ʔã*
 ok now 1s=TOP 2s=TOP DEM.PROX=FOC₁ eat-1sA-1s.NPST
 ‘All right, I eat rice here.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

But *=na* is not always an enclitic; it frequently has an accent of its own (cf. *akka na* [ʼakka ʼnaː] ‘as for me...’). *=na* is actually only used on a small subset of what is commonly referred to as

topics. In particular, it marks what one could call contrastive topics (so the "topicalised" element is always in contrast to some other element for which the proposition does not hold). That is also why it can appear after verbs, as illustrated in (12.14a,b).

- (12.14) a. *Paĩ Nare u-ppa-ŋa teĩ-ma lapt-o-ko na*
 Today N. 3sPOSS-father-ERG beat-INF begin-3P-NPST TOP
 ‘Today, Nare’s father is going to beat him.’, or ‘As for beating, Nare’s father is going to do that to him today.’) [CLLDCh3R07S01.108]
- b. *poŋ-ma na lap-nĩk-nĩŋ hola*
 give.birth-INF TOP begin-NPST-NEG probably
 ‘As for giving birth, probably she doesn’t start now.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.098]

Judging from both occurrences of *na* (topic and contrastive topic), it seems the constituent preceding *na* is marked as the domain within which an overt or covert predication is asserted, with the frequent implication that it cannot be asserted and therefore does not apply in other domains. For instance, when one says *akka na khai?ãniŋ* [1s TOP go-1sS-NEG] ‘I do not go’, the process of going can only be asserted within the domain *akka*, whereas others might go. Similarly, when one says *akka khad-e-hẽ na* [1s go-PST.1sPST TOP] ‘I went’, here ‘I went’ can be asserted, but other related events cannot, which could be, e.g. a result in ‘I went, but nothing happened’.⁴

This definition also holds for topicalized *wh*-questions in Chintang. In example (12.15), if *na* takes scope over *salo* only it expresses that the question about identity applies only to the one questioned person, so we are asking for who this is but not for others.⁵

- (12.15) *ba sa-lo na*
 DEM.PROX who-NOM TOP
 ‘Who is she?’ [CLLDCh3R03S02a.294]

⁴ See \ref tangkera_04.264a, \ref CLLDCh3R06S05.704, and \ref CLLDCh4R03S02.0038 for more examples from the corpus, where the topicalizer *na* is used with finite sentences of this kind.

⁵ Kroeger (2004) states that a question word can never be marked with the topicalizer *wa* in Japanese. The same holds for the corresponding response to the question. But this is not true in the case of Chintang.

- (12.18) a. *akka khatt-u-ŋ-bid-u-ŋ=go=te a-chau-ŋa*
 1s buy.for.sb-3P-1sA-BEN₁-3P-1sA=NMLZ₁=SPEC.TOP 1sPOSS-child-ERG
mas-o-nd-o-ŋs-e
 lose-3P-COMPL₂-3P-PERF-PST
 ‘My child had lost the one which I had bought for him.’ [Elicited_2011]
- b. *hurŋ=go ca-ma=go=te temma wachid-a*
 DEM=NMLZ₁ eat-INF=NMLZ₁=SPEC.TOP well wash-IMP
 ‘Please wash those foodstuffs well!’ [Elicited_2011]

There is only one example in the Chintang corpus where the specific topic particle =*te* appears with an infinitive form of a verb. But this utterance is produced by one of our target Children in recording (Speaker LDCh1), and is rejected by my consultant.

- (12.19) **ba seiʔ-ma seiʔ-ma=te*
 DEM.PROX kill-INF kill-INF=SPEC.TOP
 ‘to kill this’ [CLLDCh1R09S06.0525]

Like in (12.18), the specific topic particle =*te* follows the nominalizer =*go* in most of the utterances in our corpus. However, there is some evidence for the reverse situation, as illustrated in example (12.20a). But the same speaker uses a different order (e.g. *hokko=go=te* ref. CLLDCh3R05S01 292) in the same session. But the reversed order of =*go* and =*te* is not possible with adjectives, as in (12.20b). This is because adjectives in Chintang need to be nominalized before they are used.

- (12.20) a. *elo hokko=te=go kakt-o-ko*
 or which=SPEC.TOP=NMLZ₁ obstruct.in.throat-3P-NPST
 ‘Which one choked?’ [CLLDCh3R05S01 290]
- b. *mi=go=te=le yurŋ=ne*
 small=NMLZ₁=SPEC.TOP=RESTR stay=OPT
 ‘Let the small one stay!’ [CLLDCh4R05S04 1131]

12.1.5 The focus particle =ta

The focus particle =ta marks new information which is being introduced for the first time into the discourse. This particle picks out an element as prominent new information (unknown to the hearer) in a given context. This is also the most frequent particle which can appear after all kinds of syntactic units. In Chintang the focused element normally occurs right before the verb. This particle has fewer co-occurrence restrictions than other particles. In example (12.21a) and (12.21b), the focus particle appears with a noun phrase, and in (12.22) with a negative converbal clause.

Example (12.21a) was produced at a point in the discourse when two of the conversational participants are talking about one of their friend's wife who is currently seriously ill and is being taken to the district hospital from the village. One speaker asks the other participant about the exact problem of the patient. In the response, he focuses on the new information, which he supplies for the first time.

- (12.21) a. \Speaker PR
hokko somma dhane u-budhi u-choys-e pho
 which till Dh. 3sPOSS-old.lady 3nsA-take-PST REP
 [CLDLCh2R02S02.090]
- \Speaker CHKR
hile somma pho ni
 a_place till REP FOC₂
 [CLDLCh2R02S02.091]
- \Speaker PR
ay li-no=kha
 what be-NPST=NMLZ₂
 [CLDLCh2R02S02.092]
- \Speaker CHKR
u-boli=ta manchi? pho
 3sPOSS-sound=FOC₁ not REP
 [CLDLCh2R02S02.093]
- ‘Speaker PR: Do you know how far they took Dhane’s wife? Speaker CHKR: Up to Hile. Speaker PR: What happens to her? Speaker CHKR: They say that she does not have her voice.’

In the second example (12.21b), the speaker explains why his small child swallows the food without chewing. The speaker focuses on the new information which she provides in support of her child.

- b. *u-keŋ-ce=ta* *ma-pok-yokt-a-ŋs-e*
 3sPOSS-tooth-ns=FOC₁ NEG-rise-NEG-PST-PERF-PST
 ‘Her teeth have not come out yet.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.178]

As I mentioned above, in example (12.22), the focus particle =*ta* appears with the non-finite negation converb clause to focus the entire dependent clause.

- (12.22) *mai-haĩ-ma=ta* *khad-a-loĩs-e* *hola*
 NEG-discuss-INF=FOC₁ go-PST-appear.out-PST probably
 ‘She might have gone without talking.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.570]

In addition to this, the constituent focus marker =*ta* also appears as an endoclititic. Example (12.23) shows the focus particle =*ta* appearing in a compound verb form.

- (12.23) *thab-a=ta-ci-e*
 [3sS]come.level-PST=FOC₁-COMPL₃-PST
 ‘S/he came.’ [warisama_talk.115]

It is quite common for this focus particle to co-occur with a number of other particles, as in the following example:

- (12.24) *u-makcha=ta* *pho* *ni*
 3sPOSS-daughter.in.law=FOC₁ REP FOC₂
 ‘I heard that he is his son in law.’ [CLLDCh4R03S03.1209]

The focus marker =*ta* is homophonous with the imperfective =*ta*, but they are semantically not the same. Because the imperfective form cannot occur with nouns. On the other hand, =*ta* as a imperfective marker interacts with lexical time structure of the predicate (Bickel et al. 2005), whereas the focus marker cannot interact with the time structure of the predicate.

Besides the particle =*ta*, focus is also expressed in a number of other ways, such as stress, gestures, repetition or a combination of two or more of these devices. The description of these devices is beyond the scope of this chapter.

12.1.6 The surprise particle =*lo*

The particle =*lo* expresses speaker’s surprise with respect to the asserted content. Like some other particles, this one is also attached to almost all types of parts of speech. In example

(12.25a), the speaker does not expect that he looks at it, whereas the situation is that he looks at it immediately when he reaches at the point, and thus the speaker is surprised. The speaker of (12.25b) is surprised when the little Chintang children read in English during the recording of the particular session in the Chintang village.

- (12.25) a. *ba-sa-ŋa=na* *copt-o-ko=lo*
 DEM.PROX-OBL-ERG=TOP look.at-3P-NPST=SURP
 ‘He looks (at it)!.’ (यस्ले त हेर्छ पो!) [CLDLCh3R03S03.042]
- b. *angreji-beʔ=lo* *u-ne-no*
 English-LOC=SURP 3nsA-read-NPST
 ‘(They) read (it) in English!’ (अंग्रेजीमा पो पढ्छन्!) [CLDLCh3R03S03.254]

Like =*ta*, =*le*, and =*yaŋ*, this is also an endoclititic, which can appear between two verbs. The examples in (12.26) illustrate that the emphatic clitic =*lo* can be inserted inside a complex verb form or it can simply appear outside of the complex predicate.

- (12.26) a. *kip-ma=lo-dheĩ-ma* *naŋ*
 cut-INF=SURP-COMPL₂-INF BUT
- b. *kip-ma-dheĩ-ma=lo* *naŋ*
 cut-INF-COMPL₂-INF=SURP BUT
 Both: ‘It should be cut!’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.170]

12.2 Independent particles

12.2.1 The emphatic particle *ni*

The particle *ni* is generally considered as an assertion marker; it adds emphasis to an assertion made by the speaker — expressing what the speaker regards as true. This is basically used to put slight stress in answers. Some examples with the emphatic particle *ni* are given in (12.27) - (12.29):

Example (12.27) is a conversation between three participants where one of the speakers wants to know whether it is a Limbu deity that is creating problems in the village (particularly to a lady who is severely ill now). The second speaker seems to be simply neutral in this case, but the third speaker adds emphasis to his assertion by using the marker *ni* at the end of the utterance.

- (12.27) \Speaker PR
limbu-ce hunci-maj e na naj
 Limbu-ns 3nsPOSS-deity or TOP BUT
 'It may be due to the Limbu God!' [CLDLCh2R02S02.101]
- \Speaker CHKR
koni
 I.don't.know
 'I do not know.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.102]
- \Speaker LB
huni-maj=ta pho ni
 3nsPOSS-deity=FOC₁ REP FOC₂
 'It is said that it is their (Limbu's) God.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.103]

In the next example, the first speaker asks whether the bulky lady in the scene is pregnant. The second speaker is also not quite sure of it. So, he supplies his response with a combination of the probability particle *hola* and the emphatic particle *ni*. It perfectly illustrates the conflict between stepping back from a claim and at the same time emphasizing it.

- (12.28) \Speaker PR
ei? khu-no elo
 Hey! carry-NPST or
 'Is she pregnant?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.030]
- \Speaker CHKR
khu-no=ta hola ni
 carry-NPST=FOC₁ probably FOC₂
 'She is pregnant, may be.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.031]

In statements it implies that the information given is common knowledge and may be translated as 'you know'.

- (12.29) *i-mma ta ghari ba-ce na-khui ni*
 2sPOSS-mother come time DEM.PROX-ns 3>2-bring FOC₂
 'When your mother comes, she may bring these (type of things) for you.' [CLLDCh4R04S01. 710]

This is one of the most tolerant particles which can co-occur with almost all particles and discourse markers in Chintang (see table 12.2). In the following example, *ni* combines with the final particle *naŋ*.

- (12.30) *aya* *tand-i* ***ni*** *cekt-i* ***ni*** *naŋ*
 EXCLA jump-p FOC₂ speak-p FOC₂ BUT
 ‘Oh, but we jump and talk!’

12.2.2 The insistive particle *na*

The only particle occurring consistently in imperative constructions is the insistive particle *na*. This particle is used when the speaker insists or forces the addressee towards what is being suggested in the utterance. It occurs with both positive and negative requests and commands. As my consultants suggest, the imperative sentences ending in *na* can be uttered either in a friendly tone or in exasperation. For example, (12.31a) is addressed by a furious father to his naughty child, who is unwilling to put on his sandals before entering into the maize field, while (12.31b) is uttered by a boy to request Kamala to give something to their friend Khem. The most common thing in these examples is that in either case the speaker assumes that the addressee is not willing to perform the action.

- (12.31) a. *i-cappal-ce* *wad-u-c-a* ***na***
 2sPOSS-sandal-ns put.on-3P-3nsP-IMP INSIST
 ‘(I insist that you) put on your sandals!’ [CLLDCh3R02S05. 393]
- b. *kamala* *mi?mun kheme* *pid-a* ***na***
 K. a.little Kh. give-IMP INSIST
 ‘Kamala, give a little (mimi pre-cooked noodle) to Khem.’ [CLLDCh2R10S05. 673]

As briefly stated above, when *na* is used in imperative sentences, it indicates that the speaker has a strong intention to have the action carried out. Compare (12.32a) with (12.32b). In these two examples, (12.32a) sounds plain and neutral, while (12.32b) indicates that the speaker is urging the addressee to stand up, expressing something like ‘Stand up now, I insist!’

- (12.32) a. *eb-a*
 stand.up-IMP
 ‘Stand up.’ [CLDLCh3R03S03.325]

- b. *eb-a* *na*
 stand.up-IMP INSIST
 ‘(I insist that you) stand up.’ [Elicitation_2013]

As I stated above, the insistive particle *na* can also regularly follow the negative requests or commands. An example of this is given in (12.33).

- (12.33) a. *ma-kopt-a* ***na***
 NEG-pick.up.for.sb-IMP INSIST
 ‘(I insist you) do not pick it up.’ [CLLDCh3R02S05. 328]

- b. *mi* *ma-o-th-a-c-a* ***na***
 fire NEG-throw-NEG-IMP-d-IMP INSIST
 ‘Don't throw the fire.’ [CLLDCh4R10S02.104]

In the case of complex sentences, the insistive particle *na* must occur on the main clause and cannot be attached to the dependent clause.

- (12.34) *c-o-ha* ***na*** *phend-a=kina*
 eat-3P-IMP INSIST open-IMP=SEQ
 ‘(I insist you) open and eat it!’ [CLLDCh3R02S06.138]

The insistive *na* is one of the very few particles which hardly co-occurs with any other particles in Chintang. It immediately follows the imperative form of the verb, so no particles precede it. But there are some instances in our corpus, where it co-occurs with the reconfirmative particle *o* (e.g. CLLDCh4R04S01.249: *khaʔ=ne na oi* [go=OPT INSIST RECONF] ‘May he go!’).

12.2.3 The contrast particle *naŋ/nahaŋ*

The contrast particle *naŋ* is a clause-final particle. It appears at the end of a clause and expresses a contrast to another proposition, which can be represented by an actual utterance or by a “virtual” utterance, e.g. something the speaker assumes the hearer thinks or something that is part of the common ground of a conversation. As far as our data supports,

the alternative proposition cannot be anchored in the speaker himself, so *naŋ* cannot be used to contradict the speaker himself. These characteristics make it different from English *but*.

In example (12.35), *naŋ* is possible with a “virtual” proposition (e.g. I assume you've heard that *hong* is disgusting). In this example, English *but* is strange, because the contrasting proposition is not preceding the utterance.

- (12.35) *hong* *lim-no?* ***naŋ***
 kinema taste-NPST BUT
 ‘(*But) Kinema is tasty!’

However, English *but* can also be used when the contrasting proposition is something that the speaker says himself or herself. This is impossible in Chintang, as illustrated in the following example:

- (12.36) *Kina jhola=be?* *kond-u-hẽ=na,* *manchi?* (**naŋ*).
 SEQ bag-LOC=ADD search-3P-1s.PST=TOP, be.not (BUT)
 ‘And I searched in the bag, but it is not there.’ [Robert Schikowski p.c.]

Some more examples of *naŋ* are given in (12.37a-c):

- (12.37) a. *ba=na* *batta=kha=lo* *lis-a-d-e* ***naŋ***
 DEM.PROX=TOP big=NMLZ₂=SURP be-PST-COMPL₁-PST BUT
 ‘This baby became big!’ (you said he was born in August.) [CLDLCh2R02S02.042]
- b. *aseĩ* *phon* *numd-e* *pho* ***naŋ***
 three.days.before telephone [3sS]do-PST REP BUT
 ‘I heard she made a call before a few days.’ (Some people in the village say that she is very ill due to her pregnancy and currently hospitalized in city...!)
 [CLDLCh2R02S02.119]
- c. *jahataha* *janggal-a* *pho* ***naŋ***
 everywhere forest-N.NTVZ REP BUT
 ‘There was jungle everywhere.’ (at that time, but now there isn’t)
 [story_tiger.015]

12.2.4 The agreement seeker particle *o*

The agreement seeker or re-confirmative particle *o* [RECONF] prompts the listener to agree to the speaker's statement. Its function is somewhat similar to the English tag 'Okay' or tag-questions like "isn't it/haven't you/didn't he...". The speaker assumes that the hearer will agree to the proposed course of action.

- (12.38) a. *akka ba kekt-u-ŋ o*
 1s DEM.PROX carry-3P-1sA RECONF
 'I carry this, okay?' [CLLDCh2R10S05.762]
- b. *sed-u-ŋ panta khatt-u-ŋ o*
 hit-3P-1sA COND₂ take-3P-1sA RECONF
 'I take it if I hit it, okay!' [CLLDCh4R08S04.0419]

When an imperative is accompanied by the re-confirmative particle *o*, it becomes a request or a piece of suggestion, as illustrated in (12.39a). It is quite common to double the re-confirmative particle to pay extra emphasis, as shown in (12.39b).

- (12.39) a. *ba khuma=le pid-a o*
 DEM.PROX Kh.=RESTR give-IMP RECONF
 'Please give it only to Khuma, okay?' [CLLDCh4R04S01.598]
- b. *hana mai-khat-th-a o o*
 2s NEG-go-NEG-IMP RECONF RECONF
 'Please don't go, okay?' [CLLDCh3R06S03.0003]

12.2.5 The attentive particle *gonei?*

The attentive particle *gonei?* or *goneĩ* is used to draw the hearer's attention. It is somewhat similar to the reconfirmative particle *o*, but unlike *o*, *gonei?* does not seek the hearer's response; it simply informs the addressee about the situation. A phonologically reduced form *one* also shares the same distribution and meaning.

- (12.40) a. *a-nne akka=na kok ca-ma puŋs-u-hẽ gonei?*
 1sPOSS-sister 1s=TOP rice eat-INF start-3P-1sA.PST ATTN₁
 'Sister, I started to eat rice.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.067]

- b. *khad-e-hě* **gonei** *akka=na*
 go-PST-1sS.PST ATTN₁ 1s=TOP
 ‘I am leaving now.’ [CLDLCh3R01S04.054a]

An interesting fact about this particle is that it often co-occurs with subjunctive forms (e.g. *khadaŋ goneĩ* instead of *khadehě goneĩ*). This makes it look like it once was composed of the nominalizer =go [NMLZ₁] and an additional element that maybe still exists in form of the (apparent) short form *neĩ*. The following are the examples.

- (12.41) a. *kamala i-mimi u-kob-a-tt-o goneĩ*
 K. 2sPOSS-noodle 3nsA-pick.up-3P-COMPL₁-3P ATTN₁
 ‘(Be careful!) Kamala might take your noodles away.’ [CLLDCh2R10S05. 299]
- b. *na-teĩ gonei hakkaŋ*
 3>2-beat ATTN₁ after.a.while
 ‘(Be careful!) she might beat you later!’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.0207]

12.2.6 Direct speech marker *mo*

Chintang marks direct speech by the particle *mo*, which I label as ‘CIT’ in this work. It basically appears at the end of the reported speech and indicates that an immediately preceding clause is a direct quote.

- (12.42) a. *khatt-a mo lud-a? na*
 take.away-IMP CIT tell-IMP INSIST
 ‘Tell (him) to take (it) away!’ [CLLDCh3R02S05. 185]
- b. *tiy-a-s-e? mo muk-no=ta*
 come-PST-PERF-PST CIT give.a.sound-IND.NPST=IPFV₂
 ‘He is shouting that she has come!’ [CLLDCh3R02S05. 493]

The citation particle *mo* also occurs as a modifier of an NP. The followings are the examples:

- (12.43) a. *Goma mo=go=na ba=lo raicha naŋ*
 G. CIT=NMLZ₁=TOP DEM.PROX=SURP MIR BUT
 ‘This is so-called Goma!’ (I just knew her.) [CLDLCh3R01S03.258]

- b. *them=kha hindiri⁶ mo=go*
 what=NMLZ₂ kind.of.bird CIT=NMLZ₁
 ‘What is hindiri?’ [CLLDCh3R08S05.0181]

This particle functions as a complementizer that basically marks the embedded complements of speech act verbs. Most *mo*-clauses are complement clauses in P or T function. In (12.44a), the complement clause is the P argument and in (12.44b) the complement functions as the T argument of the matrix clause.

- (12.44) a. *kappe u-khad-e mo cek-no*
 K. 3nsS-go-PST CIT speak-NPST
 ‘Kappe says that they went.’ [Robert Schikowski p. c.]
- b. *kappe-ŋa u-khad-a-c-e mo na-lud-e*
 K.-ERG 3nsS-PST-d-PST CIT 3>2-tell-PST
 ‘Did Kappe tell you that they went?’ [Robert Schikowski p. c.]

Besides the citation particle *mo*, Chintang occasionally also borrows the Nepali conjunctive particle *bhanera/bhani* to make a direct quotation.

- (12.45) *bibhinna ba kali-ko=ta u-kama bhani u-lud-o-ko*
 different DEM.PROX iron.age-GEN=FOC₁ 3sPOSS-work saying 3sA-tell-3P-NPST
 ‘People say that this all different (from before) is Kali’s job.’ [origin_myth.651]

12.2.7 Reportative marker *pho*

In addition to the direct speech marker *mo*, there is another particle *pho* [REP], which also marks direct speech in Chintang. It’s quite free in terms of its occurrence but most usual place is after the verb. It indicates that the speaker is not the original source of the information. In other words, it reports only hearsay, and makes no claims about the truth of the statement. Generally, the reportative particle in Nepali, is used to recall what has been said by others in past. But in Chintang, it is used with both past and nonpast expressions. It is extremely frequent in stories and folk tales in comparison to everyday speech. But it does occur in daily

⁶ *hindiri* ‘Eagle owl’ (Nep. हुँचिल) is a kind of big bird that hunts cats.

conversations and monologues as well. This is exemplified in the following natural conversation between two people.

Example (12.46a) was produced when the two speakers (CHKR and LK) were talking about a married couple of the same village. The speaker CHKR thinks that the couple is expecting a baby, but he is not quite sure of it. So he wants to verify this fact with his friend LK. In her response, LK uses the reportative marker *pho*, because she has not seen the lady being pregnant but she also heard it from someone else.

- (12.46) a. \Speaker CHKR
bhakte-ko=lo u-chau li-ma lap-no=kha raicho aṅ kanchi
 bh.-GEN=SURP 3sPOSS-baby be-INF start-NPST=NMLZ₂ MIR Q K.
 ‘Bhakte is having a new baby, isn’t it, Kanchi?’ [CLDLCh2R05S05. 397]
- \Speaker LK
li-ma lap-no pho naṅ
 be-INF start-NPST REP BUT
 [CLDLCh2R05S05. 398]
- akka=na mai-khaṅ-th-u-ṅs-u-hẽ gonei*
 1s=TOP NEG-see-NEG-3P-PERF-3P-1s.PST ATTN₁
 ‘I heard that it has started, but I have not seen it.’ [CLDLCh2R05S05. 399]
- b. *u-gol pho thi-a-d-e pho*
 3sPOSS-ball REP fall.down-PST-COMPL₁-PST REP
 ‘He says that his ball fell down.’ [CLLDCh1R09S06.0071]

The reportative particle *pho* is frequently used in both yes/no type and wh-questions to cite someone’s questions (12.47a-c). It also marks that the answer to the question was originally not known to the asked person but to somebody else (12.48).

- (12.47) a. *kancha i-mma hokke khad-e pho*
 K. 2sPOSS-mother where [3sS]go-PST REP
 ‘Where did your mother go, kancha?’ [CLLDCh1R01S01.038]
- b. *rame aṅ num-no pho*
 R. what [3sA]do-NPST REP
 ‘What is Ram doing?’ [CLLDCh1R01S01.074]

- c. *sa-ŋa* ***pho*** *a-sed-a-c-e* ***pho***
 who-ERG REP 2s-kill-PST-d-PST REP
 ‘Who? You (d) have killed it, haven't you?’ [CLLDCh1R02S04.0479]
- (12.48) *khad-e* ***pho*** *u-khim-be*
 [3sS]go-PST REP 3sPOSS-house-LOC
 ‘(Someone told me that) she went to her house.’ [CLLDCh1R02S04b 1734]

There are a few examples in our corpus, where the reportative particle is used with the imperative form of verbs to signal commands by proxy.

- (12.49) *yoʔ-ni* *bha-iʔ-ni* *thab-a* ***pho***
 DEM.ACROSS-DIR DEM.PROX-LOC-DIR come.across-IMP REP
 ‘Come over here! (Your mother told me to ask you.)’ [CLLDCh4R11S10.096]

In the Chintang corpus, the reportative particle *pho* frequently co-occurs with the emphatic particle *ni*:

- (12.50) *bakhi* *num-nok* ***pho*** *ni*
 in.this.way [3sS]do-NPST REP FOC₂
 ‘She does in this way.’ (Someone told me) [CLDLCh2R02S02.095]

In this section, I discussed the core function of the reportative particle *pho*. I propose that the *pho* used in declarative sentences, interrogative sentences and imperative constructions in Chintang. When it occurs in declaratives, it indicates that the speaker is not the original source of the information; when it occurs in interrogative questions and imperative constructions, it indicates that the speaker is citing the question or the request of someone else.

12.3 Borrowed particles

Although particles have been traditionally viewed as unlikely candidates for borrowing (Brody 1987:507), Chintang has borrowed several particles from Nepali. In my examination of the Chintang corpus, I found that the borrowed particles are very productively used in Chintang. All the particles borrowed from Nepali function as discourse markers in Chintang. In this section I deal with the most frequently borrowed particles and their functions.

12.3.1 The specific topic *caĩ/cahĩ*

The particle *caĩ/cahĩ* is borrowed from Nepali; it functions as a contrastive topic marker ‘that one’, or ‘the specific one’. This particle is found to be used very productively in day-to-day speech in Chintang. Like the Chintang native topic particle =*na*, it occurs mostly after an NPs and after sequential markers in Chintang.

In example (12.51a), the particle *caĩ* emphasizes that the first person agent *akka* ‘I’ eats rice and not the other person. A similar meaning is conveyed by the *cahĩ* particle in examples (12.51b) and (12.51c).

- (12.51) a. *kok ca-ŋa-ʔã akka caĩ*
 rice eat-1sS-1sNPST 1s SPEC.TOP
 ‘I eat rice, (but I don’t know about others).’ [CLDLCh3R05S04.091]
- b. *ba-sa-ŋa cahĩ khali mund-o-ko-niŋ*
 DEM-OBL-ERG SPEC.TOP always [3sA]forget-3P-NPST-NEG
 ‘This one does not forget, (but other children might forget) [CLDLChR01S03.476]
- c. *hana cahĩ a-pi-ŋa-niŋ*
 2s SPEC.TOP 2sA-give-1sP-NEG
 ‘You do not give it to me, (but other children give me).’ [CLLDCh1R02S03b.086]

As I stated above, preliminary observation shows that the particle *caĩ/cahĩ* is very similar in meaning and use to the Chintang topic particle =*na*. However, *na* is much more dynamic than the particle *caĩ/cahĩ*. Unlike *caĩ/cahĩ*, *na* can appear at the end of the finite sentences, but this is not possible with the particle *caĩ/cahĩ*. Consider the following repeated example in (12.52).

- (12.52) *akka khad-e-hẽ na (*caĩ)*
 1s go-PST-PST.1sPST TOP
 ‘I went (but nothing happened)’ [Elicitation_2013]

12.3.2 The probability *hola*

The particle *hola* expresses the speaker’s uncertainty. Its closest English equivalents are ‘perhaps’ and ‘maybe’. This particle is very productive in both Nepali and Chintang. In

Chintang, it frequently co-occurs with the sentence final particle *naŋ* when the speaker wants to focus on the uncertainty of the situation, as in (12.53b). It appears mostly after verbs, but before any postposed arguments (12.54).

- (12.53) a. *sakti u-ppa kuŋ-ma lapt-e hola*
 S. 3sPOSS-father come.down -INF begin-PST probably
 ‘Probably, Sakti’s father is about to come.’ [CLDLCh3R01S03.430]
- b. *a-mai-khaŋ-yokt-a-ŋs-e hola naŋ*
 2s-NEG-see-NEG-PST-PERF-PST probably BUT
 ‘Probably, you haven’t seen it.’ [CLDLCh3R01S04.065]
- (12.54) *cuwa thuŋ-no hola huĩ khore*
 water drink-NPST probably DEM bowl
 ‘Probably, he drinks water in that bowl.’ [CLDLCh3R05S01.056]

In Nepali, it can also appear with imperatives to make a polite request. A very common example of this is found at the entrance of Nepalese offices and hospitals, as cited in (12.55). But I did not see this type of function of this particle in Chintang.

- (12.55) Nepali
mobile silent mod-ma rakhi-di-nu hola
 mobile silent mode-LOC keep-give-INF probably
 ‘Set your cell phone on ‘Silent Mode.’

12.3.3 The mirative particle *raicha*

The mirative particle *raicha* indicates that the speaker did not expect the event described in the clause. It is often used when the speaker discovers something new or unexpected. This particle corresponds to the English evidential expressions ‘apparently’, or ‘it turns out that’.

- (12.56) a. *bastu-ŋa mai-ca=kha rahicha*
 animal-ERG iP-eat=NMLZ₂ MIR
 ‘Animals eat us!’ (based on inference) [CLDLCh3R01S04.015]

- b. *saila* *ca-nik-niŋ* ***raicha***
 third.male.sibling eat-NPST-NEG MIR
 ‘Saila does not eat!’ [CLLDCh4R09S01.0407]

In Chintang, the mirative particle often co-occurs with the focus particle *naŋ*, as shown in (12.57).

- (12.57) a. *sadhe* *bara* *lis-a-d-e* ***rahicha*** *naŋ*
 a.half twelve be-PST-COMPL₁-PST MIR BUT
 ‘It turned out that it was already half past twelve!’ [CLLDCh1R03S01.0491]
- b. *khu-ma* *a-hid-o-ko* ***raicha*** *naŋ*
 carry-INF 2sA-be.able-3P-NPST MIR BUT
 ‘You could carry it!’ (I thought you could not) [CLLDCh4R08S05.0345]

12.3.4 The initiator *lo*

The initiator particle *lo* originates from the Nepali particle *la* ‘okay’ (e.g. *la jāu*, ‘Okay, go now.’). It serves to mark the beginning of a new action. Its meaning is equivalent to the English ‘Okay’. One significant difference between the borrowed particle *lo* and the native particle =*lo* is that the borrowed particle mostly appears in a clause-initial position. There are a number of evidences in our corpus where this particle appears as a clause initiator. This is illustrated by the following two examples from the Chintang corpus.

- (12.58) a. ***lo*** *chito*
 ok quick
 ‘Okay, quickly!’ [CLLDCh4R04S01.1113]
- b. ***lo*** *phan-a*
 ok walk-IMP
 ‘Okay, walk!’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.618]

12.3.5 The attentive particle *hei*

The attentive particle *hei* is used to attract the attention of the hearer in Chintang. The actual origin of this particle is the Nepali particle *hai* (हे). But unlike in Nepali, this particle has two lexical shapes in Chintang: the clitic form =*ei* and the non-clitic *hei*. Like the particle *lo*, the

Particle	Followed by	Example in corpus
= <i>yaŋ</i> [ADD]	<i>lo, naŋ, pho</i>	[CLLDCh3R09S06.300]
= <i>le</i> [RESTR]	<i>naŋ, ni, o</i>	[CLLDCh4R05S04.1131] [CLLDCh1R06S03.0312]
= <i>ta</i> [FOC ₁]	<i>lo, pho, ni, naŋ</i>	[CLLDCh4R03S03.0803] CLLDCh4R03S03.1209
= <i>na</i> [TOP]	<i>ni, lo</i>	[khinci_talk.048]
= <i>te</i> [RESTR]	<i>lo, naŋ, le, ni</i>	[CLLDCh1R03S01.0453] [CLLDCh4R05S04.1131]
= <i>lo</i> [SURP]	<i>raicha, naŋ, ni</i>	[CLLDCh2R02S09.940]
<i>ni</i> [FOC ₂]	<i>mo</i>	[CLLDCh4R03S03.0776]
<i>na</i> [INSIST]	<i>o</i>	[CLLDCh3R07S03.441]
<i>naŋ</i> [BUT]	<i>pho</i>	[CLDLCh2R02S02.246] [story_DKR_01.215]
<i>pho</i> [REPORT]	<i>ni</i>	[CLDLCh2R02S02.095]
<i>mo</i> [CIT]	<i>lo, na</i>	[CLLDCh4R03S03.1078]
<i>o</i> [RECONF]	<i>mo</i>	[CLLDCh2R03S04.0710]
<i>gonei?</i> [ATTN _i]	<i>o, mo</i>	[CLLDCh1R05S05.1153]
<i>caĩ</i> [SPEC-TOP]	<i>pho</i>	[story_rabbit.007]
<i>hola</i> [PROB]	<i>ni, mo</i>	[CLLDCh4R03S03.1083]
<i>raicha</i> [MIR]	<i>naŋ, ni</i>	[CLDLCh3R01S04.030]
<i>hei, =ei</i> [ATTN]	-	[CLDLCh3R01S02.029]

Table:12.1 Possible combination of Chintang particles

12.5 Summary

Although the class of particles in Chintang is of moderate size. It is nevertheless quite complex. As shown by the preceding discussion, we can make progress towards understanding the complexity of particles by analysing them along two independent dimensions: syntax and phonology. Phonologically, we may distinguish three types of

particles in Chintang: those that always behave as enclitics/endoclititics, those that behave as freestanding words, and those that behave as both. The phonological classification of the Chintang particles is shown in (12.64).

(12.64) Phonological classification of Chintang particles

- a. enclitics/endoclititics: =*yaŋ*, =*le*, =*ta*, =*ni*, =*te*
- b. Freestanding particles: *pho*, *mo*, *o*, *gonei?*, *lo*, *hola*, *raicha*, *na*, *naŋ*
- c. Behave as both (clitics and freestanding words): =*lo/lo*, =*na/na*, =*ei/hei*

Syntactically, we may distinguish between focus particles and discourse markers.

(12.65) Syntactic classification of Chintang particles

- a. constituent particles: =*yaŋ*, =*le*, =*ta*, =*na*, =*te*, *caĩ*
- b. discourse markers: *pho*, *mo*, *o*, *gonei?*, *lo*, *hola*, *raicha*, *hei*, *na*, *ni*

Although this classification does not provide a complete picture of the Chintang particles, it may nevertheless be a useful means for understanding the basic properties that distinguish them.

Chapter 13

Concluding Remarks

13.0 Introduction

The goal of this study, as stated in chapter one, was to give an overview of the aspects of Chintang syntax. In addition to syntax, I have also described phonology, morphology (both nominal and verbal), complex predicates and adverbs to give an impression of Chintang grammar as a whole. This dissertation has twelve chapters excluding the current chapter (i.e. summary). All chapters of the dissertation contain a brief summary at the end of each chapter. So I do not repeat everything that was said there in this conclusion chapter. However, I summarize some of the major findings of the research in this chapter.

13.1 Summary of the thesis

Chintang is an eastern Kiranti language belonging to the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. The nearest linguistic relatives are Athpare, Belhare, Chiling and Yakkha. It is spoken by about 5000 Chintang Rai people in the Chintang and Āhāle VDCs of Dhanakutā district in Nepal. There are two dialects (Mulgāũ and Sambugāũ) named after the areas where they are spoken, but the difference between these two dialects is found only in some areas of the morphology and lexicon, but not in the syntax. Chintang has a relatively large inventory of phonemes: twenty-seven consonants (excluding borrowed ones), six monophthongs and 12 diphthongs. Like other South Asian languages, Chintang shows a four way contrasts in stop consonants. But unlike in most other languages, there is a very rare lateral aspirated phoneme /lʰ/ (see table 2.1). All Chintang consonants can occur in the word

initial position, but there are certain restrictions in the medial and in the final positions. The canonical syllable structure of Chintang may be schematized as (C | G) V (C), where “C” is a consonant, “G” a glide and “V” a vowel. Stem final constants of verbs are obligatorily voiced before vowels (e.g., *thap-e* → *thab-e*). However, there is no voicing in other positions, for instance, after prefixes (e.g., *u-pid-e* (**u-bide*)). There are no pitch or tone contrasts in Chintang.

Chintang is a morphologically quite rich language. Finite verbs can be marked for person, number, tense, aspect, mood, and polarity whereas nouns are marked for case and number. There are three categories of number viz. singular, dual and plural. Singular is an unmarked category, whereas the dual and plural are marked by suffixes. Unlike in Nepali, there is no grammatical gender in Chintang. Chintang behaves ergatively with respect to case marking. It has split case marking based on person. The verbal morphology is considerably more complex than the nominal morphology in Chintang. The Chintang verb inflects for tense, aspect, polarity, and mood, and agrees in various alignment patterns with the single argument of intransitive verbs S and with both the A and P arguments of transitive verbs. All morphological categories of mood, aspect and tense are marked by suffixes on verbs. Indicative mood and tense markers are basically fused and represented by portmanteaus of tense and mood marking suffixes. Chintang makes a robust use of various non-finite verb forms for a variety of functions. Non-finite verb forms are the most productive means of making complex sentences in Chintang.

Like many other South Asian languages, Chintang makes extensive use of complex predicates. In my research, I found basically three types of complex verbal forms in Chintang: v1 + v2 compound, preverb and a stem form, and the borrowed verb compounds. In all these three types of complex predicates, the element in the right-most position gets full inflection, and in all forms there is the possibility for endoclititics to intrude between the two verb forms. But unlike in preverb-stem compounds and borrowed verb compounds, v2s in v1 + v2 compound forms require a disyllabic unit as a host to maintain their prosodic subcategorization constraint (see Bickel et al. 2007). If there is no inflectional suffix available to attach to the v1 stem, the epenthetic element *-na* is used to fulfill the requirement.

Adverbs, the topic of chapter 6, were discussed from both semantic and syntactic perspectives. There are hardly few mono-morphemic adverbs in this language. The majority of adverbs derive from a reduplication or triplication process. Syntactically, Chintang adverbs appear as a modifier of a verb, modifier of an adjective or modifier of another adverb, and can occur in a number of different positions in a sentence.

The description and analysis of Chintang syntax begin in chapter 7, which investigates noun phrase structure in Chintang. NP structure is similar to that of the clause, the head is final and the pre-head order is syntactically free. There are simple, complex and headless noun phrases in Chintang. A simple NP contains only a pronoun or a noun which can be further modified by a number of modifiers, whereas a complex NP contains more than one NP combined either by a subordination or coordination process. In an NP, the head noun shows no agreement with the other modifying constituents except number agreement with the numeral.

Chintang is a verb-final language (SOV). In a basic declarative sentence all arguments usually precede the verb. In the unmarked word order an actor noun phrase normally precedes an instrumental one. Question formation does not necessarily change the word order, though the interrogative pronoun often takes the focus position immediately before the verb. Nevertheless, the Chintang language does not have a fixed word order, the arrangement of words in clauses do not result in a change of the linguistic meaning. The position of the verb is relatively fixed, but can be moved to the clause initial position. The most frequent word orders are SV, APV and AGTV, but other orders are always possible. Interrogative pronouns can occur sentence initially, pre-verbally, and in situ. Chintang allows multiple questions (wh) in transitive clauses. Including juxtaposition, the comitative marker *nij* and the alternative particle *elo* are sometimes used to coordinate two elements. But the coordination strategy is not very productive in this language. Unlike dative-marked experiencers of the Indo-Aryan languages (e.g. Nepali), there are nominative experiencers in Chintang, which trigger object agreement.

Nominalization is very productive in Chintang. Like in other Tibeto-Burman languages, nominalization in Chintang extends beyond its core function of deriving nominal items from non-nominals. Actually, it is observed in almost all levels of grammar. i.e. it converts (all) verbs and adverbials into nominals, it marks adjectives, demonstratives,

participles, relative clauses, and complement clauses. Nominalization in Chintang is thus different from the standard concept of nominalization, because its input is not necessarily non-nominal and its output is not necessarily nominal (e.g. headed relative clauses). Although nominalization is found at all levels of Chintang grammar, derivation of nouns from non-nominals or nominals occupies a dime role. A significant role of nominalization is seen in various subordinate clauses and in free-standing sentences.

There are four different types of complement clauses in terms of control behavior of their S/A and P arguments and agreement properties. The S/A arguments of the embedded and matrix clauses must be identical for all the infinitival complement clauses. However, there is no coreferentiality restriction in nominalized and *samma* complement clauses in Chintang. Transitivity, case assignment, control and agreement behavior are quite diverse. There are both forward and backward control in Chintang.

Chintang shows an interesting diversity in adverbial clauses. There are both non-finite and finite adverbial clauses, which are marked by various morphemes, especially clitics, affixes, and conjunctions. Even though all non-finite subordinate clauses lack tense, and mood, in Chintang we encounter person and number marking in purposive clauses as possessive prefixes. The *-saŋa* converbal clauses and *-si* purposive clauses do not allow an overt S/A argument in the embedded clause, but both do allow patients, and locative arguments. But in contrast to *-saŋa* and *-si* clauses, there is no obligatory control of arguments in the negation converb clause. All types of converbal clauses have in common that they all license some sort of focus marker on the embedded clause.

A finite subordinate clause is inflected for tense, aspect (optionally), mood, person and number. There are four types of finite clauses: adverbial clause with *lok/lo*, conditional clauses with *=haŋ*, sequential clauses with *=kina/ki* and concessive clause with *nuseyaŋ*. Besides these clauses, Chintang also borrows a number of temporal conjunctions from Nepali to form temporal adverbial clauses.

Chintang also has a moderate number of particles. All of them are uninflected and post-posed to the syntactic unit they modify. Besides this, Chintang also borrows a number of particles from Nepali. Among the native particles there are six clitics and seven independent words. Most of the clitics also function as endoclitics, which are attached inside a (morphological) word.

Appendix

Verb paradigms

A1: Indicative paradigm

Top-down in each cell Nonpast indicative and past indicative

A/P	1s akka	1de ancaŋa	1pe anaŋa	1di anci	1pi ani	2s hana	2d hanci	2p hani	3s hungo	3ns hunce	Antipassive
1s		Σ-ŋa-ʔā-ci-ŋ Σ-ŋ-a-ŋ-ci-hē				Σ-na-ʔā Σ-n-e-hē	Σ-na-ʔā-ce Σ-n-a-c-e	Σ-na-ʔā-ni Σ-n-a-ni-hē	Σ-u-ku-ŋ Σ-u-ŋ-čī-hē	Σ-u-ku-ŋ-ci-ŋ Σ-u-ŋ-čī-hē	Σ-ŋa-ʔā Σ-e-hē
1de				Σ-na-ʔa-ncī-ya Σ-n-a-ncī-e-hē					Σ-c-o-ko-ŋa Σ-a-ce-hē	Σ-u-ku-m-ci-m-ma Σ-u-m-ci-m-m-e	Σ-ce-ke-ŋa Σ-a-ce-hē
1pe									Σ-u-ku-m-ma Σ-u-m-m-e		Σ-i-ki-ŋa Σ-i-hē
1di				Σ-na-ʔa-ncī Σ-n-a-ncī-hē					Σ-c-o-ko Σ-a-c-e	Σ-u-ku-m-ci-m Σ-u-m-ci-m-hē	Σ-ce-ke Σ-a-c-e
1pi									Σ-u-ku-m Σ-u-m-hē		Σ-i-ki Σ-i-hē
2s	a-Σ-ŋa-ʔā a-Σ-e-hē					a-Σ-na-ʔa-ce a-Σ-n-a-c-e			a-Σ-o-ko a-Σ-e	a-Σ-u-ku-ce a-Σ-u-c-e	a-Σ-no a-Σ-e
2d	a-Σ-ŋa-ʔa-ŋ-ci-ŋ a-Σ-a-ŋ-čī-hē	a-ma-Σ-ce-ke a-ma-Σ-a-c-e	a-ma-Σ-no a-ma-Σ-e						a-Σ-c-o-ko a-Σ-a-c-e	a-Σ-u-ku-m-ci-m a-Σ-u-m-ci-m-hē	a-Σ-ce-ke a-Σ-a-c-e
2p	a-Σ-ŋa-ʔa-ŋ-ni-ŋ a-Σ-a-ŋ-nī-hē					a-Σ-na-ʔa-ncī a-Σ-n-a-ncī-hē			a-Σ-u-ku-m a-Σ-u-m-hē		a-Σ-i-ki a-Σ-i-hē
3s	u-Σ-ŋa-ʔā u-Σ-e-hē								Σ-o-ko Σ-e	Σ-u-ku-ce Σ-u-c-e	Σ-no Σ-e
3d	u-Σ-ŋa-ʔa-ŋ-ci-ŋ u-Σ-a-ŋ-čī-hē	ma-Σ-ce-ke ma-Σ-c-e	ma-Σ-no ma-Σ-e	mai-Σ-ce-ke mai-Σ-a-c-e	mai-Σ-no mai-Σ-e	na-Σ-no na-Σ-e	na-Σ-ce-ke na-Σ-a-c-e	na-Σ-i-ki na-Σ-i-hē	u-Σ-c-o-ko u-Σ-a-c-e	u-Σ-u-ku-ce u-Σ-u-c-e	u-Σ-ce-ke u-Σ-a-c-e
3p	u-Σ-ŋa-ʔa-ŋ-ni-ŋ u-Σ-a-ŋ-nī-hē								u-Σ-o-ko u-Σ-e		u-Σ-ko u-Σ-o-ko

A2: Subjunctive paradigm
 Top-down in each cell Nonpast subjunctive and past subjunctive

A/P	1s akka	1de ancaŋa	1pe anaŋa	1di anci	1pi ani	2s hana	2d hanci	2p hani	3s hungo	3ns hunee	Antipassive
1s		Σ -ŋa-ci-ŋ Σ -ŋ-a-ŋ-ci				Σ -na Σ -n-a	Σ -na-ce Σ -n-a-ce	Σ -na-ni Σ -n-a-ni	Σ -u-ŋ Σ -u-ŋ	Σ -u-ŋ-ci-ŋ Σ -u-ŋ-ci-ŋ	Σ -ŋa Σ -a-ŋ
1de				Σ -na-nci-ya Σ -n-a-nci-ya					Σ -c-o-ŋa Σ -a-c-o-ŋa	Σ -u-m-ci-m-ma Σ -u-m-ci-m-ma	Σ -ce-ŋa Σ -a-ce-ŋa
1pe									Σ -u-m-ma Σ -u-m-ma		Σ -i-ŋa Σ -i-ŋa
1di				Σ -na-nci Σ -n-a-nci					Σ -c-o Σ -a-c-o	Σ -u-m-ci-m Σ -u-m-ci-m	Σ -ce Σ -a-ce
1pi									Σ -u-m Σ -u-m		Σ -i Σ -i
2s	a- Σ -ŋa a- Σ -a-ŋ					a- Σ -na-ce a- Σ -n-a-ce			a- Σ -o a- Σ -o	a- Σ -u-ce a- Σ -u-ce	a- Σ a- Σ -a
2d	a- Σ -ŋa-ci-ŋ a- Σ -a-ŋ-ci-ŋ	a-ma- Σ -ce a-ma- Σ -a-ce	a-ma- Σ a-ma- Σ -a			a- Σ -na-nci a- Σ -n-a-nci			a- Σ -c-o a- Σ -a-c-o	a- Σ -u-m-ci-m a- Σ -u-m-ci-m	a- Σ -ce a- Σ -a-ce
2p	a- Σ -ŋa-ni-ŋ a- Σ -a-ŋ-ni-ŋ								a- Σ -u-m a- Σ -u-m		a- Σ -i a- Σ -i
3s	u- Σ -ŋa u- Σ -a-ŋ								Σ -o Σ -o	Σ -u-ce Σ -u-ce	Σ Σ -a
3d	u- Σ -ŋa-ci-ŋ u- Σ -a-ŋ-ci-ŋ	ma- Σ -ce ma- Σ -a-ce	ma- Σ ma- Σ -a	mai- Σ -ce mai- Σ -a-ce	mai- Σ mai- Σ -a	na- Σ na- Σ -a	na- Σ -ce na- Σ -a-ce	na- Σ -i na- Σ -i	u- Σ -c-o u- Σ -a-c-o	u- Σ -u-ce u- Σ -u-ce	u- Σ -ce u- Σ -a-ce
3p	u- Σ -ŋa-ni-ŋ u- Σ -a-ŋ-ni-ŋ								u- Σ -o u- Σ -o	u- Σ -u-ce u- Σ -u-ce	u- Σ u- Σ -a

A3: Imperative paradigm

A/P	1s	1de	1pe	1di, 1pi, 2s, 2d, 2p	3s	3ns	intran.
2s	Σ-a-hā	ma-Σ-a-c-a	ma-Σ-a	Σ-n-a-c-a	Σ-a	Σ-u-c-a	Σ-a
2d	Σ-a-ŋ-cī-hā		ma-Σ-a-c-a	Σ-n-a-ncī-hā	Σ-a-c-a	Σ-a-n-u-m-cī-m-ha	Σ-a-c-a
2p	Σ-a-ŋ-nī-hā		ma-Σ-a-nī-hā		Σ-a-n-u-m-ha		Σ-a-nī-hā

A4: Imperative paradigm
 Illustrated with the verb *pima*, *pit-* 'give'
 Top-down, positive and negative commands

A/P	1s	1de	1pe	1di, 1pi, 2s, 2d, 2p	3s	3ns	intran.
2s	pid-a-hā ma-pi-th-a-hā	ma-pid-a-c-a ma-ma-pi-th-a-c-a	ma-pid-a ma-ma-pi-th-a	pi-n-a-c-a ma-pi-n-a-ca	pid-a ma-pi-th-a	pid-u-c-a ma-pi-th-u-c-a	pid-a ma-pi-th-a
2d	pid-a-ŋ-cī-hā ma-pi-th-a-ŋ-cī-hā		ma-pid-a-c-a ma-ma-pi-th-a-c-a	pi-n-a-ncī-hā ma-pi-n-a-ncī-hā	pid-a-c-a ma-pi-th-a-ca	pid-a-n-u-m-cī-m-ha ma-pi-th-a-n-u-m-cī-m-ha	pid-a-c-a ma-pi-th-a-c-a
2p	pid-a-ŋ-nī-hā ma-pi-th-a-ŋ-nī-hā		ma-pid-a-nī-hā ma-ma-pi-th-a-nī-hā		pid-a-n-u-m-ha ma-pi-th-a-n-u-m-ha		pid-a-nī-hā ma-pi-th-a-nī-hā

Bibliography

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2000. *Classifiers: A Typology of Noun Categorization Devices*. Oxford: New York.
- Bhatt, Rajesh. 2005. Long Distance Agreement in Hindi-Urdu. *Natural Language & Linguistic theory* 23: 753–807.
- Bickel, Balthasar. 1991. *Typologische Grundlagen der Satzverkettung*. Ein Beitrag zur Allgemeinen Grammatik der Satzverbindung und des Fährtenlegens. Zürich: ASAS.
- Bickel, Balthasar. 1993. Belhare subordination and the theory of topic. In Ebert, Karen H. (ed.), *Studies in clause linkage*. Papers from the Köln-Zürich workshop, 23–55. Zürich: ASAS.
- Bickel, Balthasar. 1994. Mapping Operations in Spatial Deixis and the Typology of Reference Frames. Working Paper No. 31, Max-Planck-Research Group in Cognitive Anthropology.
- Bickel, Balthasar. 1996. *Aspect, Mood, and Time in Belhare: Studies in the Semantics-Pragmatics Interface of a Himalayan Language*. Zürich: ASAS.
- Bickel, Balthasar. 1997. The possessive of experience in Belhare. In David Bradley (ed.), *Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas*, 135–155. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics (A - 86).
- Bickel, Balthasar. 1998. Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective [review article of Haspelmath and König, eds., *Converbs*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter 1995]. *Linguistic Typology* 2, 381–397.
- Bickel, Balthasar. 1999. Nominalization and focus constructions in some Kiranti languages Yogendra P. Yadava & Warren G. Glover (eds.), *Topics in Nepalese Linguistics*. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 271–296.
- Bickel, Balthasar. 2002. What's special about Himalayan languages? Paper presented at the 8th Himalayan Languages Symposium, Bern, September 19–22.
- Bickel, Balthasar. 2003a. Belhare. In Thurgood, Graham and Randy. J. LaPolla (eds.), *The Sino-Tibetan languages*, 546–570. London: Routledge.
- Bickel, Balthasar. 2003b. Referential Density in Discourse and Syntactic Typology. *Language* 79: 709–736.
- Bickel, Balthasar. 2004a. The syntax of experiencers in the Himalayas. In Bhaskararao, P. & K. V. Subbarao (eds.) *Non-nominative subjects*, 77–112. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Bickel, Balthasar. 2004b. Hidden Syntax in Belhare. In Saxena, Anju (ed.), *Himalayan language: past and present*, 141–190. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bickel, Balthasar. 2008a. Aspects of Kiranti syntax: grammatical relations. Paper presented at the Central Dept. of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, August 14, 2008.

- Bickel, Balthasar. 2008b. Grammatical relations in Chintang. Paper presented at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig, October 7, 2008.
- Bickel, Balthasar. 2010. Capturing particulars and universals in clause linkage: a multivariate analysis. In Brill, I. (ed.), *Clause-hierarchy and clause-linking: the syntax and pragmatics interface*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bickel, Balthasar, Goma Banjade, Martin Gaenszle, Elena Lieven, Netra P. Paudyal, Sindy Poppitz, Arjun Rai, Manoj Rai, Novel K. Rai, Vishnu S. Rai, Narayan P. Sharma, and Sabine Stoll. 2005. Morphological quirks in Kiranti: new findings in Chintang and Puma. Paper presented in DoBes workshop in Nijmegen, 23 May.
- Bickel, Balthasar, Goma Banjade, Martin Gaenszle, Elena Lieven, Netra P. Paudyal, Ichchha P. Rai, Manoj Rai, Novel K. Rai, and Sabine Stoll. 2007. Free prefix ordering in Chintang. *Language*. Vol. 83, 44–73.
- Bickel, Balthasar, Manoj Rai, Netra Paudyal, Goma Banjade, Toya N. Bhatta, Martin Gaenszle, Elena Lieven, Ichchha Rai, Novel Kishor Rai, and Sabine Stoll. 2010. The syntax of three-argument verbs in Chintang and Belhare (Southeastern Kiranti). In Andrej Malchukov, Martin Haspelmath, and Bernard Comrie (eds) *Studies in ditransitive constructions*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bickel, Balthasar, and Johanna Nichols. 2011. Obligatory Possessive Inflection. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, chapter 58. Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/58> Accessed on 2012-07-27.
- Bickel, Balthasar, and Martin Gaenszle (eds.) 1999. *Himalayan space: cultural horizons and practices*. Zürich: Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich.
- Borchers, Dörte. 2008. *A grammar of Sunwar*. Leiden: Brill.
- Bresnan, Joan. 2001. *Lexical-Functional Syntax*. London: Blackwell.
- Brody, Jill. 1987. Particles Borrowed from Spanish as Discourse Markers in Mayan Languages. *Anthropological Linguistics*. Indiana University.
- Butt, Miriam 1995. *The Structure of Complex Predicates in Urdu*. Stanford CA: CSLI Publications. (Ph.D. thesis, 1993)
- Butt, Miriam. 2008. Revising Long-Distance Agreement in Urdu. Talk given at the 30th Annual Convention of the German Society of Linguistic, Bamberg, 27-29.02.2008.
- Bybee, Joan, Perkins, Revere & Pagliuca, William. 1994. *The Evolution of Grammar*. The University of Chicago Press.

- Central Bureau of Statics. 2001. *rāṣṭriya janagaṇā, 2001*. [In Nepali: “Caste/Ethnicity Population”] <http://cbs.gov.np/?p=513>.
- Chafe, Wallace L. 1976. Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics, and point of view. In Charles N. Li (ed.) *Subject and topic*. New York: Academic.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1998a. Attributive clauses in Asian languages: Towards an areal typology. In Boeder, Winfried, Christoph Sroeder, Karl Heinz Wagner, & Wolfgang Wildgen (eds.) *Sprache in Raum und Zeit, in memoriam Johannes Bechert, Band 2*, 51–60. Tübingen: Narr.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1998b. Rethinking the typology of relative clauses. *Language Design* 1, 59–86.
- Cristofaro, Sonia, 2003. *Subordination*. Oxford: Oxford University press.
- Dahl Östen, 1985. *Tense and Aspect Systems*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Diessel, Holger. 2001. The ordering distribution of main and adverbial clauses: A typological study. *Language* 77, Number 3: 433–455.
- Dik, Simon C. 1978. *Functional Grammar*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Dirksmeyer, Tyko. 2008. *Spatial deixis in Chintang - Aspects of a grammar of space*. MA thesis. University of Leipzig.
- Dixon, Robert M. W. 2004. Adjective classes in typological perspective. In R.W.W. Dixon and A.Y. Aikhenvald (eds.) *Adjective Classes: A Cross-linguistic Typology*. (Explorations in Linguistic Typology.) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1–49.
- Dixon, Robert M. W. 2006. *Complementation: A cross linguistic typology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.
- Doornenbal, Marius Albert. 2009. *A Grammar of Bantawa*. Utrecht: LOT Publications.
- Driem, George van. 1987. *A grammar of Limbu*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Driem, George van. 1990. An exploration of Proto-Kiranti verbal morphology. *Acta Linguistica, Hafniensia* 22:27–48.
- Driem, George van. 1993. *A Grammar of Dumi*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Driem, George van. 2001. *Languages of the Himalayas: an ethnolinguistic handbook of the Greater Himalayan Region, containing an introduction to the Symbiotic Theory of Language*. Leiden: Brill.
- Dryer, Matthew S.. 2011. Polar Questions. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.)

- The World Atlas of Language Structures Online. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, chapter 116. Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/116> Accessed on 2012-06-05.
- Ebert, Karen H. 1994. *The Structure of Kiranti Languages*. Zürich: ASAS-Verlag.
- Ebert, Karen H. 1997a. *A Grammar of Athpare*. München: LINCOM Europa.
- Ebert, Karen H. 1997b. *Camling (Chamling)*. München: LINCOM Europa.
- Ebert, Karen H. 1999. The UP-DOWN dimension in Rai grammar and mythology. In Balthasar Bickel and Martin Gaenszle (eds) *Himalayan Space: Cultural Horizons and Practices*, Zürich: Völkerkundemuseum, 107–134.
- Ebert, Karen H. 2003. Equivalents of ‘conjunctive participles’ in Kiranti languages. In Kansakar/Turin (eds.) *Themes in Himalayan Languages and Linguistics*. SAI Heidelberg and Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu.
- Foley, William A. 2007. A typology of information packaging in the clause. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, Vol. 1. Clause Structure 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 362–446.
- Foley, William A. & Van Valin, Robert D. Jr. 1984. *Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gamerschlag, Thomas. 2007. Semantic and structural aspects of complement control in Korean. In B. Stiebels (Ed.), *Studies on complement control*. ZAS Papers in Linguistics 47, 81–123.
- Gaenszle, Martin, Balthasar Bickel, Goma Banjade, Toya N. Bhatta, Elena Lieven, Netra P. Paudyal, Juddy Pettigrew, Ichchha P. Rai, Manoj Rai, and Sabine Stoll. 2005. Worshipping the King God. A Preliminary Analysis of Chintang Ritual Language in the Invocation of Rajdeu. In Yogendra P. Yadava (ed.) *Contemporary issues in Nepalese linguistics*. Kathmandu: Linguistic Society of Nepal.
- Gaenszle, Martin, Ichchha P. Rai, Juddy Pettigrew, Manoj Rai, Balthasar Bickel, Goma Banjade, Toya N., Bhatta, Netra Prasad Paudyal and Sabine Stoll. 2013. Resisting the State in Nepal: The Chintang Incident' of 1979 and the politics of Commemoration. In Marie Lecomte-Tilouine edited *Revolution in Nepal: An Anthropological and Historical Approach to the People's war*. Oxford University Press, 97–113.
- Genetti, Carol. 1986. The development of subordinators from postpositions in Bodic languages. In *Proceedings of the twelfth annual meetings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 387–400. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistic Society.
- Genetti, Carol, 1994. A descriptive and historical account of the Dolakha Newari dialect. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.

- Genetti, Carol. 2005. The Participial Constructions in Dolkha Newar: Syntactic Implications of an Asian Converb. *Studies in Language* vol. 29: 35–87.
- Genetti, Carol. 2007. *A Grammar of Dolakha Newar*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Genetti, Carol. 2011. Nominalization in Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayan area. In *Nominalization in Asian languages: Diachronic and typological perspective*, Foong Ha Yap, Karen Grunow-Harsta and Janick Wrona (eds), 163–193. John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Genetti, Carol, A. R. Coupe, Ellen Bartee, Kristine Hilderbrandt, and You-Jing Lin. 2008. Syntactic aspects of nominalization in five Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayan area. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman area* 31(2): 97–143.
- Georg, Stefan. 1996. *Marphatan Thakuri*. München: LINCOM Europa.
- Gil, David. 2011. Numeral Classifiers. In Dryer, Mathew S. & Haspelmath, Martin, eds. *The World Atlas of Language Structure Online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, feature 55A. Available online at <http://wals.info/features/55A>, accessed on 2013.03.08
- Givón, T. 2001. *Syntax: an introduction*, Vol. 2. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1963. Some universals of language, (ed.) by Joseph H. Greenberg, 73–113. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Grimes, Barbara F. (eds). 1996. *Ethnologue language name index to the thirteenth edition of the Ethnologue*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics. 288 p.
- Haiman, John. 1978. Conditionals are topic. *Language*. 54, 564–589.
- Hanßon, Gerd. 1991. *The Rai of Eastern Nepal: Ethnic and Linguistic Grouping. Findings of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal. (Edited and provided with an introduction by Werner Winter)*. Kirtipur: Linguistic Survey of Nepal and Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies.
- Harada, S. I. 1973. Counter equi NP deletion. *Annual Bulletin of the Research Institute of Logopedics and Phoniatics*, 113–147. University of Tokyo.
- Hargreaves, David. 1986. Non-embedded nominalizations in Newari: the interaction of form and function. Paper presented at the Conference on the Interaction of Form and Function, University of California, Davis.
- Harrish, Alice C. 2000. Where in the word is the Udi clitic? *Language* 76.593–616.
- Harrish, Alice C. 2002. *Endoclititics and the Origins of Udi Morphosyntax*. Oxford University Press.

- Haspelmath, Martin. 1993. *Grammar of Lezgian*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1995. The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category. In Haspelmath M., and Koenig E. (eds) *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, 1–55. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1999. Long distance agreement in Godoberi (Daghestanian) complement clauses. *Folia Linguistica* 33, 131–151.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2007. Coordination. In Shopen, Timothy (ed.) *Language Typology and syntactic descriptions, Vol. II: Complex constructions*. 2nd ed. Cambridge.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2008. Creating economical morphosyntactic patterns in language change. In: Good, Jeff (ed.) 2008, *Language Universals and Language Change*, 185–214. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haspelmath, Martin, and Ekkehard König (eds.). 1995. *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Haspelmath, Martin, and Ekkehard König. 1998. Concessive conditionals in the languages of Europe. In van der Auwera, Johan (ed.), 563–640.
- Hook, Peter. E. 1974. *The Compound Verb in Hindi*. Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies: The University of Michigan.
- H., T. Nishida, & Y. Nagano. 1994. (Eds.), *Current issues in Sino-Tibetan linguistics*, 766–772. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- King, John T. 2009. *A Grammar of Dhimal*. Leiden: Brill.
- Klavans, Judith L. 1985. The Independence of Syntax and Phonology in Cliticization. *Language* 61: 95–120
- König, Ekkehard and Shigehiro Kokutani. 2006. Towards a typology of reciprocal constructions: focus on German and Japanese. *Linguistics* 44:2, 271–302
- König, Ekkehard. 1991. *The Meaning of Focus Particles: A Comparative Perspective*. London: Routledge.
- Kopris, Craig & Anthony R. Davis. 2005. Endoclititics in Pashto: Implications for Lexical Integrity. Presented in the Fifth Mediterranean Morphology Meeting, Sept. 15-18, 2005, Frejus, France
- Kroeger, Paul R. 2004. *Analyzing Syntax: A Lexical-functional Approach*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kroeger, Paul R. 2005. *Analyzing Grammar: An introduction*. Cambridge University Press.

- Kuroda, S. Y. 1965. *Generative Studies in the Japanese Language*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Kuhn, Kristina. 2010. Acquisition of relative clauses. MA thesis, University of Leipzig.
- Lahaussais, Aimee. 2002. *Aspects of the grammar of Thulung Rai: an endangered Himalayan language*. Ph.D. thesis, University of California.
- Lahaussais, Aimée. 2003. Nominalization and its various uses in Thulung Rai. *LTBA* 26.1:33–57.
- Lambrecht, Kund. 1994. Information structure and sentence form: topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- LaPolla, Randy. 1994. Parallel Grammaticalization in Tibeto-Burman languages: Evidence of Sapir's Drift. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman area* 17.1:1–18.
- Lehmann, Christian. 1988. Towards a typology of clause linkage. In John Haiman & Sandra A. Thompson (eds.) *Clause combining in grammar and discourse*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Lewis, M. Paul (ed.). 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*, Sixteenth edition. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International.
- Limbu, Sakindra. 2009. Subordination in Taplejung Limbu. *Nepalese Linguistics*, Vol 24, 1 3 5 – 142.
- Masica, Colin P. 1976. *Defining a Linguistic Area: South Asia*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Masica, Colin P. 1991. *The Indo-Aryan languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Matisoff, James A. 1972. Lahu nominalization, relativization, and genetivization. In John P. Kimball (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics*, 237–257. New York: Academic Press.
- Michailovsky, Boyd. 1985. Tibeto-Burman dental suffixes: evidence from Limbu. In Graham Thurgood, James A. Matisoff & David Bradley (eds.), *Linguistics of the Sino-Tibetan Area: The State of the Art*, 363–375. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Michailovsky, Boyd. 1988. *La langue hayu*. Paris: Editions du CNR
- Michailovsky, Boyd. 1994. Manner vs. place of articulation in the Kiranti initial stops. In Kitamura, H., et. al. (eds.) *Current Issues in Sino-Tibetan Linguistics*. Osaka, 766–772.
- Michailovsky, Boyd. 2003. Suffix-runs and counters in Kiranti time-ordinals. In David Bradley, Randy LaPolla, Boyd Michailovsky, & Graham Thurgood (eds.) *Language variation:*

Papers on variation and change in the Sinosphere and in the Indosphere in honour of James A. Matisoff. Pacific Linguistics, Australia.

Monahan, Philip J. 2003. Backward object control in Korean. *Proceedings of WCCFL* 22, 356–369.

Mohanan, Tara. 1990. *Arguments in Hindi*. Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University.

NLRC. 1994. *The National Language Recommendation Commission: Report*. Kathmandu.

Noonan, Michael. 1997. Versatile nominalizations. In Joan Bybee, John Haiman, and Sandra A. Thompson (eds.), *Essays on Language Function and Language Type*, 373–394. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Noonan, Michael. 2001. The Chantyal language. In: Randy J. LaPolla and Graham T. Thurgood (eds.), *The Sino-Tibetan Languages*. London.

Noonan, Michael. 2007. Complementation. In T. Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*. Vol. II, 52–150. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Opgenort, Jean Robert. 2004. *A grammar of Wambule*. Leiden: Brill.

Opgenort, Jean Robert. 2005. *A grammar of Jero, with a historical comparative study of the Kiranti languages*. Leiden: Brill.

Paudyal, Netra P. 2003. A Sketch of Darai Grammar, M.A. thesis, Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu.

Paudyal, Netra P. 2004. *Kabir bangsa Dharma ra utpatti: Ek parichaya* 'Origin of Kabir Religion: An Introduction', (16th Dec, 2004) Janbiswas Weekly, Dhanakuṭā.

Paudyal, Netra P. 2008. Agreement patterns in Darai: typological study. *Nepalese Linguistics*, Vol. 23, 186–207.

Paudyal, Netra P. 2011. Nominalization in Chintang. *Nepalese Linguistics*. Vol. 26., 116–129.

Paudyal, Netra P., Balthasar Bickel, Robert Schikowski, Sabine Stoll, Elena Lieven, Goma Banjade, Ichchha P. Rai, Manoj Rai, Martin Gaenszle, Novel K. Rai, and Toya N. Bhatta. 2010. Non-finite adverbial Subordination in Chintang. *Nepalese Linguistics* 25, 121–132.

Person, Kirk Roger. 2000. *Sentence final particles in Bisu narrative*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Texas at Arlington.

Peterson, John. 1999. The Nepali subordinated verb. *Topics in Nepalese linguistics*, (eds.) by Yogendra Yadava and Warren Glover, 337–370. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.

Pokharel, Madhav P. 1999. Compound verbs in Nepali. In Yadava and Glover (eds.), *Topics in Nepalese linguistics*, 185–208. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.

- Polinsky, Maria. 2000. Variation in complementation constructions: long-distance agreement in Tsez. In K. Horie, (ed.) *Complementation: Cognition and Function Perspectives*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 59–90.
- Polinsky, Maria & Eric Potsdam. 2002a. Backward control. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33, 245–282.
- Polinsky, Maria & Eric Potsdam. 2002b. Backward Control: Evidence from Malagasy. *Proceedings of AFLA 8*, MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 44, 257–272.
- Rai, Novel Kishore. 1985. *A Descriptive Study of Bantawa*. Ph.D. thesis, Deccan college, Pune.
- Rai, Novel Kisor, Yogendra P. Yadava, Bhim Narayan Regmi and Balaram Prasain (eds.). 2007. *Recent studies in Nepalese linguistics*. Kathmandu: Linguistics Society of Nepal.
- Rai, Novel. K., Balthasar Bickel, Martin Gaenszle, Goma Banjade, Elena Lieven, Netra P. Paudyal, Ichchha P. Rai, Manoj Rai, and Sabine Stoll. 2005. Triplication and ideophones in Chintang. In: Yadava, Y. P. (ed.) *Contemporary issues in Nepalese linguistics*. Kathmandu: Linguistic Society of Nepal, 205–210.
- Rai, Vishnu Sing, Balthasar Bickel, Shree Kumar Rai, Narayan P. Sharma. 2008. *A Grammar of Puma*. CPDP
- Rapacha, Lal Bahadur. 2005. *A Grammar of Koĩts*. Ph.D. thesis, JNU, New Delhi.
- Rijkhoff, Jan. 2002. *The noun phrase* (Oxford Studies in Typology and Linguistic Theory), Oxford University press.
- Rutgers, Roland. 1998. *Yamphu: Grammar, Texts & Lexicon*. Leiden: Research School CNWS.
- Schackow, Diana, 2008. *Clause linkage in Puma (Kiranti)*. MA thesis, University of Leipzig.
- Schackow, Diana, Balthasar Bickel, Shree Kumar Rai, Narayan Sharma (Gautam), Arjun Rai & Martin Gaenszle. 2012. Morphosyntactic properties and scope behaviour of ‘subordinate’ clauses in Puma (Kiranti). In V. Gast & H. Diessel (eds.), *Clause-combining in cross-linguistic perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Schikowski, Robert. 2011. Chintang Morphology. Unpublished manuscript.
- Schikowski, R., B. Bickel, N. P. Paudyal, in press. Flexible valency in Chintang. In Comrie, B. & A. Malchukov (eds.) *Valency classes: a comparative handbook*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Sen, Sukumar. 1968. Compound verbs in Indo-Aryan languages. *Indian Linguistics* 27:21–5.

- Silverstein, Michael. 1976. Hierarchy of features and ergativity. In *Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages*, ed. Robert Dixon, 112–171. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Stiebels, Barbara. 2007. Towards a typology of complement control. ZAS: Berlin.
- Stoll, Sabine, Balthasar Bickel, Elena Lieven, Goma Banjade, Toya N. Bhatta, Martin Gaenszle, Netra P. Paudyal, Judith Pettigrew, Ichchha P. Rai, Manoj Rai, & Novel K. Rai. 2012. Nouns and verbs in Chintang: children's usage and surrounding adult speech. *Journal of Child language* 39. 284–321.
- Subbārāo, Kārumūri V. 2012. *South Asian Languages: A Syntactic Typology*. Cambridge
- Thompson, S. 1985. Grammar and written discourse: Initial vs. final purpose clauses in English, as in T. Givón (ed.) *Quantified Studies in Discourse, Text*, 5.1/2.
- Tolsma, Gerard J. 2006. *A grammar of Kulung*. Leiden: Brill.
- Vovin, Alexander. 2003. *A Reference Grammar of Classical Japanese Prose*. Routledge Curzon, London and New York.
- Watters, David. 2002. *A Grammar of Kham*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University press.
- Watters, David. 2008. Nominalization in the Kiranti and Central Himalayish languages of Nepal. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 31(2): 1–43.
- Weidert, Alphons and Bikram Subba. 1985. *Concise Limbu Grammar and Dictionary*. Amsterdam: Lobster.
- Wolfenden, Stuart N. 1929. *Outlines of Tibeto-Buman linguistic morphology*. London: Royal Asiatic Society.
- Yadava, Yogendra P., & Glover, Warren W., (eds.). 1999. *Topics In Nepalese Linguistics*. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.
- Yadava, Yogendra P. 2003. Language. in *Population monograph of Nepal*, Vol. 1. Ch.4. Central Bureau of Statistics. Nepal.
- Yap, Foong Ha, Grunow-Harsta Karen, and Janick Wrona. 2011. Nominalization strategies in Asian languages. In *Nominalization in Asian languages: Diachronic and typological perspective*, Foong Ha Yap, Karen Grunow-Harsta and Janick Wrona (eds), 163–193. John Benjamins Publishing Company
- Zwicky, Arnold M. 1977. On Clitics. Ohio State University.
- Zwicky, Arnold M. 1985. Clitics and particles. *Language* 61 (2): 283–305.
- Zwicky, Arnold M. and Geoffrey K. Pullum. 1983. Cliticization vs. Inflection: English *n't*. *Language* 59: 502–513.